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THE
JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXVIII, Part I April 1950 Serial No. 82

Constantine and Indias

BY

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,
Trivandram

1. MALABAR

Malabar Hindu documents about the Christian king Paḷḷivāṇavar (317 A.D.), of Cranganore, Malabar, were dealt with in this *Journal* for April 1948, (pp. 27—44). Was he one of the kings who sent to Constantinople (founded in 330) an embassy to Constantine the Great in 336—7 ? That emperor was then well-known, and even worshipped in our India (as in Italy, North Africa and other places.) For Eusebios (*ca.* 325) in his Greek *Life of Constantine* IV. 50 (Ed. Migne, 1857) says :—

"At the same time (that is to say, when the marriage of him, the Emperor's son, took place) arrive there the Delegates of the Indians who live in the East (Eastern regions), carrying with them gifts, many kinds of pearls of great effulgence and price, and beasts of peculiar shape and character, which differ from those of ours. While offering all these to the Emperor, the delegates stated, first, that his empire was extended as far as their own ocean, and, secondly, that the princes of the Indian people recognise him as their King and Emperor by erecting painted tablets and statues in his honour. And as in the beginning of his reign the Britains, who live in the western ocean were the first to subject themselves to his reign, so now the Indians who live in the East do the same ”.[1]

“ They told him too of pictures and statues dedicated to him by the Princes of India ”, says Priaulx in his *Apollonius,* 1873, p. 181. The original Greek given by him (p. 180) has *eikonōn graphais.* These icons must have been set up in temples erected mainly on the W. and E. *Coasts* (rather than the interior of India), and in Ceylon. There were then in India and Ceylon, traders from Greece, Asia Minor, Alexandria of Egypt, and from other parts of the Roman empire, who used to worship the Roman Emperor as divine. To the Hindus the divinity of the king was no novel idea, although after his conversion to Christianity Paḷḷivāṇavar must have (in obedience to Christian and Jewish doctrine) discouraged the worship of icons, as King Gondophares of the Panjab, St. Thomas's convert, had preferred the title *“ Deva-vrata ”* (= devoted to God — singular) to the then usual titles *“ Deva-putra,* and *Dēvānām* priya ” (= son of god, and dear to the gods — plural), and also adopted what historians call his *“ characteristic symbol ”* — viz. a small v surmounting a large circle ○ standing on an inverted capital T (⊥) as its base. The three combined looks like a big wine cup (chalice), such as the chalice used by Christ at His Last Supper with His 12 disciples, and ever after that by all Christians at the Eucharist. St Thomas celebrated the Eucharist in the Panjab as *The Acts* (ca. 220 A.D.) tells us. And the chalice, and not the cross, is the earliest known Christian symbol. See *Ency. Brit., s. v.* Chalice.

The cult of the divine Roman Emperor *(“ Caesar, Divi Augusti Filius Augustus, Imperator ”)* had perhaps been prevalent in

---

[1] Here we recall that about 350 years before, i.e. ca. 25 B.C., Poros *and* the Pandyan king whose territory extended, in the days of the *Periplus,* ca. 60 A.D., to the south of the Chera's, and had on the West Coast the sea-port Bakare (Purakkād), and the Pampa river port Neakynda (Nākkida) — see this *Journal for* Aug. 1948, pp. 122-4, Nos. 11-13 — sent Embassies to Caesar Augustus. They reached the Emperor at Samos in 22 or 20 B.C. according to Dion Cassius (194 A.D.) via Antioch in Syria, where Nikolaos Damaskenos personally met the survivors (three) of the combined embassy. Strabo's words (ca. 5 A.D.) —

kakeithen o' aph' henos topou kai
par henos basileōs Pandionos
kai allou Pōrou (*or* ē kat' allous)

are usually taken to refer to *one* embassy. But it seems that the Pandyan's starting from Bakare port joined the North Indian Poros' embassy at Broach and both sailed on together.

Cranganore, Cochin, since the days of Augustus, whose temple in Cranganore seems to be mentioned in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. In 333 A.D. or later a cult of the *Gens Flavia,* the Emperor's family, was established by Constantine at Hispellum (Spello), and it spread to Africa. The above Malabar temple of Augustus might have (as in Rome) enshrined an icon of his, or in later days a serpent also. For the Greeks and Romans believed that the souls of the dead were incarnate in the bodies of serpents and revisited the earth in that form. And the Romans used to keep serpents in every household, as the Hindus kept, and even none keep, the images of serpents, and in some cases, live serpents in their houses. (Vide Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. IV. 74.)

2. THANA

Now, "in the year 1564 at the town of Tana of the Island of Salsete, near the city of Baçaim in India" (= Bassein, Bombay), there was accidentally dug up "a statue, which being cleaned and examined, showed perfectly in the dress and make of a Dominican Friar," supposed to be Bishop Jordanus of ca. 1330. This was a statue "of black wood, one palm high, and held its hands under the scapular; the hair reached the middle of the head," according to *Or. Conquistado* (1650 A.D.). But *Catholic Encyclo.* IV, 610c. says it was a bronze statue. Was this *perchance* a statue of Constantine ?

3. METRODORUS-CONSTANTINUS-CONSTANTIUS

Cedrenus of the 11th century says of one Metrodorus that "he was a Persian-born and pretended to philosophy; that he travelled to India and the Brahmins, and made for and introduced among them water-mills and baths, - - - (from their temples) he stole pearls and other precious stones. These jewels, together with others - - - for the Roman Emperor, he offered to Constantine as gifts from himself, and gave him to understand that the Persians had seized and appropriated a parcel of other jewels which he had sent overland. On this, Constantine wrote curtly to the Persian king, and receiving no answer, put an end to the peace between them." (— Priaulx, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

But Ammianus Marcellinus (361 A.D.), a contemporary, in defending Julian (born 331) against those who charged him with having instigated the Persian war (of 357, and not of 336-7 A.D.), asserts that it was brought on by Constantius (317-361), who too rashly gave credit to the falsehoods of Metrodorus. So the presents must have been given to Constant*ius* (317-361), and not to our Constant*inus* (died 337). Cedrenus appears to have read the emperor's name wrongly.

The India to which Metrodorus came in or before 357 may or may not have been our India. But the "ulterior India" that he had (acc. to Rufinus) visited before 326 (say, about 320 A.D.), and before the visit to that India by Meropius and the boys Frumentius and Edesius in Constantinus' days (as Rufinus says) was Ulterior *Arabia* west of Parthia. *Pace* Priaulx (pp. 183-4) we do not regard Rufinus' and Marcellinus' Metrodoruses as *two* different persons, but as *one,* who (according to the dates found in documents) flourished from about 315 to 357 A.D., and visited *both* Arabia (miscalled India) and our "India of the Brahmins," also distinguished from other Indias, the pseudo-Indias *west* of the Indus, as India "Orientalis," India "which makes an end," or India "in the confines of the world."

4. CONSTANTINE AND THEOPHILUS THE INDIAN

The Arian Philostorgius (*H. E.* III, 4: Photius' Bibliotheca) says that Theophilus was born at Dibous, an island of the "Indians," that when very young he was sent by his people (the Indians: the Blemmyes) as a hostage to our Constantine, and was educated in a monastery (at Nicomedia ?). Later on Constantius, the next emperor, in about 354, sent him as an Arian missionary to the Sabeans of South Arabia and to Abyssinia. Several authors have regarded Theophilus as a real Indian, and identified his Dibous with Diul off the mouth of the Indus (by Valesius, Shrockh, and Assemani), the Maldives (by Gibbon), Socotra (by Moberg), Diu, or Saka-Dveepa, the estuary of the Indus (both by myself).

But Priaulx (*op. cit.*, p. 188, and notes 41 and 43) says that "Theophilus is often called the *Blemmyan,* and his mission points to an Arabian origin, and I incline to think that Dibous is some Arab island or promontary connected with the Debai or Dedebai of Agatharcides" (146 B.C., *ibid.* p. 248). Is Dibous Jibuti ?

The above mentioned Blemmyes were "a fierce people whose heads once did grow beneath their shoulders (Pomponius Mela I, viii, 60) (who) infested the neighbourhood of Berenice - - - (and) seem to have occupied Coptos and Ptolemais, for Probus (A.D. 279) is said to have recovered these towns from them." (Priaulx, pp. 166-7). Berenice and Ptolemais were on the African shore of the Red Sea, and Coptos, N. W. of Berenice, was on the Nile.

After pointing out Theophilus' founding churches among the Homeritae of South Arabia, his going even to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, his visit to his own " Dibous and other parts of India ", and his work among the Ethiopians living at the entrance of the Red Sea, and finally his return to Rome from Auxume in Ethiopia, Priaulx asks : "Does not all this show mere travel in Arabia up to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ? " And we now know for certain that the Ethiopians and South Arabians were wrongly called Indians. E.g. Pseudo-Kallisthenes, 4th cent., calls the king of Ethiopia an Indian, Aphrahat the Syrian (275-345 A.D.) calls the Ethiopians Indians, and *Itiner. Alex.* (345 A.D.) regarded India as a whole as extending eastwards from Egypt and Ethiopia.

5. A THEBAN SCHOLAR IN CRANGANORE

We may here note that some time after Theophilus' travels in S. Arabia and Ethiopia, a Theban scholar, a lawyer, came by the Red Sea to " India," i.e., to Ethiopia *and* South India. At Auxume, the capital of Ethiopia, " he met with some Indian, i.e. Arab, merchants about to proceed for India : he joined them, and together they crossed the Ocean. After several days' voyage they reached Muziris, the chief port on this side of the Ganges and the residence of a petty Indian rajah " (a successor of our Pallivānavar of the first half of the Constantinus-Constantius-Julianus century.)

At Muziris he stayed some time studying its soil and climate and the customs and manners of its inhabitants. But if he narrated or wrote anything about Pallivānavar and other Christians there it has not survived. There he " heard of the Ceylon markets thronged with merchants from Ethiopia and Persia," i.e. Arabs and Persians. Some of them must have been found by that scholar in Pallivānavar's Muziris too, and the Baghdad missionaries who had come to Pallivānavar in 317 were Syrians or Persians from the Baghdad region. See this *Journal*, 1948, pp. 27-29.

The explorer then penetrated into the interior of the country and got as far as the Besadae, a dwarfish, large-headed people who occupied themselves with gathering pepper from the low and stunted trees on which it grows. *" Piper ibi nascitur in magnâque colligitur copiâ "* — in Malabar, and *not* in Ceylon, as the Latin account wrongly suggests.

The Besadae seized on the poor scholar, and their king gave him as a slave to a baker. I think he was not one of the " Besadae," but a civilized " baker " from near Muziris who used to barter salt, food, and sweet-meats for pepper and other forest produce.

"With him I stayed six years, and in this time learned their language" (= Tamil of Cochin) "and a good deal about the neighbouring nations. At length the great king of Ceylon[2] heard of me and out of respect for the Roman name and fear of the Roman power" (known in Muziris from at least the days of Pallivānavar and the embassy of 336-7) "ordered me to be set free, and severely punished the petty rajah (of the Besadae) who had enslaved me." The king of Ceylon had no authority over Malabar to issue such an order.

The name Besadae does not appear in the Latin version of the Theban's report, but in the Greek original it appears also as Thebaids, Bethsiads, and Bethsads, all likely to be wrong renderings of the name of some Travancore-Cochin forest tribe like the Vēda or Veshava, confounded with the Tibeto-Burman "Bisadae", of whom the scholar had the chance of reading in the Greek works of Pseudo-Kallisthenes (III, 8: "Bisadae", clever climbers and leaf gatherers), or in the Periplus (§ 65: "Besatae", gatherers of "malabathrum" = *tamāla-patram,* cinnamon leaf).

6. CONSTANTINE AND QALONYA

Archbishop Severus of Antioch (512-39 A.D.) mentions the following incidents about "the merchant Qison, a fire-worshipper, who coming to Qalonya, in the country of the Philippois, somewhere in India, made the acquaintance of the Christians there and of their bishop; he goes home by sea and brings his family to the bishop for baptism. He goes home again, and dies. His widow, Helena and her four sons, John, Stephen, Joseph and Daniel, come to "India", to the capital of a king where there are no Christians. So many miracles happen on their account that John and the king write for a bishop to Constantine the Great. John, bishop of Ephesus (sic), comes to "India", baptises the king and his people, and consecrates John, one of the four brothers, as first bishop of that city."—See *Indian Antiquary,* 1928, p. 120, and 1927, pp. 150-151.

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[2] This cannot be Ceylon, because the king of that island had no authority over the king of Muziris to order the latter to set the Greek scholar free. Ceylon, therefore, must be the result of the wrong reading by the Latin translator of the Greek version, of either (*a*) cēram = Kerala, or (*b*) cigalam, sigalam, cingḻi which are some of the forms of the long name Tiruvan—*cikalam,* found in European and W. Asian documents. It was the name of the Cera king's capital, Muziris being a river-port of his.

Is the India in the above passage our India ? If the country of the Philippois is that of the Apostle Philip's Christians it cannot be in our India, but may be Phrygia assigned to Philip by some writers. Then Qalonya cannot be Quilon in Travancore, or Kalyana of Bombay or Kalawan (= Kalamina of St. Isidore, d. 636 A.D.) of the Panjab.

Let us note that Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch's contemporary, describes a "happy India" ironically in Celaenis Phrygiae Orat. XXXV, II. In his oration to the Alexandrians, the Celaeni (II, 72) are mentioned. There was a place called Celaene in Phrygia.

If after their baptism in Qalonya of Phrygia the widow Helena and her four sons came (from Persia) to *another* India, whence the son John, wrote to Constantine for a bishop, it may have been Muziris (in Cochin), or some other place in India proper that they visited.[3]

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[3] Recent excavations near Jerusalem in ancient Judea have revealed (1949) the remains of a city close to Kolonia, which name looks like Qalonya above mentioned Judea's old spelling was Iudea, in which form it had every chance of being wrongly read as Indea, and construed as India. Kolonia is believed to have been "built by the Roman legion when it conquered Palestine," - - (and) "the scene of many fierce battles." Kolonia may be Latin *Colonia,* colony.

Anglo-Dutch Relations in India Proper (The Earliest Phase–1602-27)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A.

I

"The very points of resemblance in the racial characteristics of the English and the Dutch[1] brought them into collision in almost every part of the world. Born colonisers, traders and explorers, each people was instinctively conscious that its destiny was upon the water and that the mastery of the sea was a necessity of national existence. Hence a rivalry which was unavoidable, inexorable, a rivalry which could eventually have only one of two issues, either the voluntary submission of one of the rivals to the other or a trial of strength by ordeal of battle."[2]

INTRODUCTION

EUROPEAN NATIONS AND THE EAST

1. Since the discovery of the sea-route to the East, India has been the scene of the commercial activities of several European nations. The Portuguese were the first to enter the field. For long they maintained the monopoly of the maritime trade with India. Their monopoly rested on the armed might of Portugal and the spiritual sanction given by the Pope. The Portuguese kept the charts of the Eastern seas secret and thus prevented leakage of information regarding the route. In 1605 Philip III of Spain who was also ruler of Portugal strictly prohibited the Hollanders from trading with Spain or the Indies. The port of Lisbon was also closed

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[1] The word "Dutch" is an English rendering of the *Deutsch* or *Diutsch* of Germany and Holland, and was originally employed to indicate Germany and the Germans. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, English writers generally indicated the Dutch of Flanders and Holland as "Flemings". It was only in the seventeenth century after the northern Flemings had acquired their independence of Spain and had joined with the Western Frisians to form the United Provinces of which Holland was the principal part that the English took to calling them "Dutch" and the lands of the Holy Roman Empire "Germany".

Sir Harvy Johnston: *Pioneers in India* (Blackie: London 1913), page 172.

[2] Edmundson: *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry.*

to the Dutch who were accustomed to sell their wares in Lisbon and buy eastern goods from that port. Hence they felt impelled to challenge the Portuguese monopoly. The Dutch being in possession of the market raised the price of pepper in 1599 from 3 shillings per lb. to 6s. 8d.[3] This was the circumstance that led to the formation of the English East India Company which was created by a charter of Queen Elizabeth on the last day of 1599. This charter conferred rights of exclusive trading on the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The Dutch were earlier in the field, but their several independent companies were by their mutual competition creating much disorder and were clashing with each other in their commerce. Hence the several companies were united into one on the 20th March 1602 with a joint capital stock of 6,600,000 guilders (about £550,000).[4] The *Algemeene Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie* (The General Chartered East India Company) thus formed was invested by the States-General with authority to make peace or war with the eastern princes, to erect forts, choose its own governors, maintain garrisons and nominate officers for the conduct of the police and administration of justice. It had no parallel in antiquity. The creation of such a company with its monopoly of trade and its great privileges including its right of maintaining fleets and armed forces, of concluding treaties and of erecting forts was nothing less than the formation of a state within the state. It served as a model for all the great chartered companies of later times. By the side of the Dutch Company with its enormous capital, the English Company which possessed a capital of a mere £30,000 appeared a puny body incapable of struggling successfully against its powerful competitor.[5]

It is said by competent authorities that India was not the objective of the Dutch in the early days. Pepper could be obtained from Java and Sumatra in exchange of specie. Dutch relations with India developed when they perceived that it was difficult for them to bring from Europe specie or any merchandise readily saleable in the spice Islands, and that Indian piece-goods were the recognised medium of the trade. Consequently they established factories (i.e. trading posts where factors or agents were stationed) in India as subsidiaries to their principal business of supplying pepper and other spices to Europe.[6] It must, however, be pointed out that the very first naval expedition sent to the East by the United Dutch Company had instructions to launch at Masulipatam for its cloth.[7]

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[3] Anderson: *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* (1764).

[4] *Reisebescheribungen* Vol. I. 1 guilder = ⅚ rupee.

[5] Edinundson: *History of Holland.*

[6] Moreland: *From Akbar to Aurangzeb.*

POSITION OF THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

2. Just as Britain and Holland were the two countries which profited in Europe by the decline of the Hanse towns, these were the identical nations to whom fell the large volume of Asiatic trade previously enjoyed by Portugal. While the Dutch were bent on destroying the Portuguese monopoly, they were equally desirous of succeeding to that monopoly and preventing their English rivals from having any share in eastern trade. Thus there was bitter rivalry between the two nations. Towards the English, the Dutch at first showed a more friendly exterior; but, in the end, the English felt that they had more reason to complain of these their supposed friends than their sworn enemies, the Spaniards and the Portuguese.[8] Anglo-Dutch rivalry is thus an interesting subject for study. Although the subject was the theme of a course of lectures before the University of Cambridge by a competent authority (Edmundson: *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry*), those lectures hardly paid any attention to the bitter rivalry between the two nations within the confines of the Indian peninsula. Eventually, on the mainland of India, what once seemed impossible happened. Holland, despite her good start, had to yield to the superior good fortune of the English, and to-day Dutch commerce in India is simply non-existent. It is proposed to give below a connected account of the early stages of the rivalry between these two Protestant nations in India. Such a study will remove from our minds the erroneous idea that it was only after the massacre of Amboyna (1623) that the English turned their attention to India and that thereafter the Dutch confined themselves to the East Indies. Closer study will convince us that, even before the tragedy of Amboyna, the English had begun their efforts to secure a share of the Indian trade and that, during the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch played a large part in India proper and came into close rivalry with the English although occasional efforts at co-operation were not lacking.

GENERAL CAUSES FOR THE RIVALRY

3. Why the two nations were hostile to each other need not be a matter for surprise. Though grateful to England for the help obtained in her struggle against Spain, Holland could not

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[7] Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogenheid in Azie.*

[8] Danvers: *Introduction to Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East.*

forget the havoc wrought on Dutch trade by the English intervention in the herring and whale fisheries.[9] Having once tasted the bitter fruits of English commercial competition in Europe, the Dutch naturally had the liveliest apprehensions of the possible consequence of English competition in the distant east. The Hollanders were determined that England, with its better situation, should not attain to a superior position in commerce. It took time for the Englishmen of the seventeenth century who regarded the Dutch as being in a measure dependent upon the British Crown to realise that Holland had stepped definitely into the circle of nations and that gratitude for the grudging help doled out by Elizabeth and her successor had its limits. "The Dutch stood firmly on the rights given them by their treaties and complained of the unreasonableness of the English in expecting to share free of cost in a commerce which had been snatched from the Portuguese by force of arms at a vast expense and was safeguarded by the same means."[10]

COMMON ADVANTAGES OF THE TWO NATIONS FOR FOREIGN TRADE

4. Considerable advantages for foreign commerce were shared by both nations.[11] Their useful hands were not shut up in convents nor were they compelled to celibacy. Religious festivals and processions did not interrupt them from following their lawful employments. Religious toleration invited to their land refugees from the civil wars of France and Germany. While the union of the seven united provinces of Netherlands gave political stability to Holland, the Tudor monarchy welded England into a compact national kingdom. The strong and popular rule of Elizabeth was a remarkable source of strength to England. The Netherlands appeared to be the most potent republic the world had seen since that of old Rome and the greatest maritime and commercial power known till that day. The people of both England and Holland were known to be industrious and enterprising. Amsterdam became a great entrepot of the world's trade. The natural strength of their country improved by their many sluices for overflowing it rendered it inaccessible to land armies. The free constitution of their government and the safety, security and convenience furnished by the Bank of Amsterdam with its nonviolated credit, immense treasure and its extensive usefulness were also precious assets. The invention of the telescope in 1590 made unprecedented progress in astronomy possible. The fuller knowledge of the heavenly bodies

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[9] Anderson—see f. n. 3.

[10] Introduction to the Journal of John Jourdain.

[11] Anderson: Introduction, page VIII.

facilitated by the telescope brought navigation and therefore commerce to a degree of perfection impossible for the ancients. The pride, coveteousness and religious intolerance of the Portuguese precipitated their ruin. Finding much profit in Brazil, they slighted East India and neglected to send thither sufficient supplies even for preserving what they already possessed and much less for making new conquests there. Their conquests in India had already been too many and too far asunder to be effectually succoured. And they had to face the Dutch at the same time in Brazil and India. These circumstances made it easy for the Dutch to overpower and replace the Portuguese in India, and consequently to take a bold attitude to the English.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

5. The century in which the Dutch and English inaugurated their commercial activities in the East bears a close resemblance to modern times. During the course of that century (the seventeenth) commerce was gradually advanced almost to its very zenith of perfection. Navigation arts, mathematical, manufactural, nautical and mechanical, agriculture, architecture and plantations were almost marvellously improved. Commercial banking and metallic companies were established in Europe and helped the growth of commerce in England and Holland. The Hanse towns lost their trade more and more to the Dutch and English who brought to great maturity the trade from the several countries of Europe to East India. To the close of the century these nations possessed much the greatest part of the naval commerce of Europe. Naval architecture was brought to greater perfection. The importance of commercial treaties began to be appreciated. The significance of the low interest of money and the true intrinsic value of coin were better understood. Manufacture, commerce, and shipping began visibly to prosper. Thus it was in a century eminently suited for commercial expansion that the Dutch and the English turned their attention to Indian trade.

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS

6. The first holders of the office of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies were practically endowed with autocratic authority. They were all men who had risen to the position by proving themselves to possess energy and enterprise, being compelled by the distance from home to act promptly on their own initiative. They were able rapidly to extend and consolidate their power to the exclusion of all competitors. It was not enough to oust the Spaniards and the Portuguese from their former positions. The Dutch found that collision with the English was inevitable.

The English felt that while the Dutch were industrious, their own nation was supine. Thus in 1603 Sir Walter Raleigh impressed on King James I the following points.[12] (1) The Dutch allowed privileges to strangers and thus drew multitudes of merchants to live among them, thereby enriching themselves. (2) The Dutch erected store-houses or magazines for all foreign commodities wherewith, upon occasions of scarcity, they were enabled to supply other countries, even those from whom they brought those very commodities. (3) The customs duties of the Dutch were low. (4) The structure and roominess of their ships holding more merchandize and the smaller number of sailors engaged enabled them to carry their goods much cheaper to and from foreign parts than England could. Thus the Dutch gained all the foreign freights whilst all the English ships lay idle and decayed or went to Newcastle for coals. (5) The Dutch got vast returns from their prodigious fishery. Thus the Hollanders became the great carriers by sea for the rest of Europe. Amsterdam became the great store-house for corn for the supply of all Europe in any dearth.[13] While Holland traded yearly with England in 600 ships, England had only 50 ships for her trade with Holland.

INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

7. The political conditions which prevailed in India during the seventeenth century may now be briefly described. Northern India was a political whole under the strong arms of the Mughals. Though from the Indus to the Ganges the Mughal Empire had been established and reduced to a regular system by Akbar, the frequent civil wars for the succession rendered commercial intercourse difficult, and the tenures by firmans or grants from the Mughals or from their officers precarious and expensive: and those from the inferior chiefs on the Malabar or Coromandel coast still more temporary and uncertain. In the Deccan, Bijapur and Golkonda were the only Muhammadan states which retained their independence. In the south, the Raja of Chandragiri, the titular descendant of the great house of Vijayanagar whose power was shattered by the Muhammedans at Talikota in 1565, exercised some sort of suzerainty over the Hindu nobles called Naiks. Some of these like the rulers of Tanjore and Madura were virtually independent in their own territories. On the pepper yielding coast of Malabar, Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and Travancore were the chief states; of these, Calicut was economically the most important. The Portuguese held several busy places, some of the most

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[12] Anderson, page 462.

[13] Anderson, page 463.

important of which were Goa, Diu, Daman, Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon, Mannar, Negapatam and San Thome. Goa was their Indian metropolis, the seat of their Viceroy and of all the gallantry of the nation and the general rendezvous of all their forces. Goa had also a large share of trade. Here were the strong sinews that held together the ports of their eastern empire. The strong city and castle of Cochin was favourably situated and had a considerable trade. The maritime supremacy of the Portuguese had not yet been challenged, and even the Mughals took passports for their vessels from the Portuguese and paid tolls. What is called mercantile extraterritorialism prevailed in Southern India. In other words, the rulers of the south were accustomed to permit foreign merchants to form themselves into an autonomous community with laws and institutions of their own. The authorities at Calicut, Masulipatam and Pulicat were thus familiar with the institution of mercantile extraterritorialism. But the Great Mughal had the outlook of Central Asia where such ideas were not known and in his empire the grant of concession was not a matter of course, but even here and in Golkonda the Europeans could on occasions make war successfully on sea because the Indian states maintained no naval forces. Reprisals by Europeans took place when the native powers misbehaved. These measures were acts of war and, because of their efficiency, Europeans were able to exact redress for the wrongs they suffered. Yet, despite their favoured position, the Portuguese power was about to give way.

INTERNAL CONDITIONS WERE FAVOURABLE TO TRADE

8. According to Abdul Fazl, the port duties throughout the empire of Akbar never exceeded 2½%.[14] The duties at Surat in 1600 were 2% on coinage, 2½% on goods and 3% on provisions. Despite perquisites, the whole administration of customs was on the whole very lenient and encouraging for the merchants. Transit duties, however, were still levied by petty chiefs though twice remitted by Akbar.[15] But in the premier state of Golkonda and the states on the Coromandel coast, there were numerous charges which must have depressed industry. Their collection depended very much on the personalities of the revenue officers and the farmers of customs. Princes, however, showed unusual anxiety in encouraging foreign merchants to trade with their country and took immediate steps to check abuses brought to their notice.

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[14] Finch.

[15] Bal Krishna.

ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS IN INDIA PROPER — THE EARLIEST PHASE

(a) *Coromandel*

While the conditions which prevailed in India in the seventeenth century were favourable for bodies carrying on trade, the relations between new competitors for the trade were by no means satisfactory. Of the four main regions in India where later the Dutch carried on trade, Viz., Guzerat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal, only Guzerat and Coromandel attained to importance in this period. It was here that the rivalry between the Dutch and English became keen. In Bengal the Dutch already preceeded the English. On the 26th of May 1616 the factors at Surat wrote to Sir Thomas Roe at Ajmere "Upon the sea-coast where there is any hope of benefit the Dutch and Portuguese have trade whereby we conceive that the transportation by land thither will be more hazardous and chargeable than the benefit by the sale of a small quantity can cover". In Malabar, neither the Dutch nor the English had any enterprise at hand.

The Dutch who were earlier in the field on the Coromandel coast also were unfriendly to the English. In every treaty the Dutch entered into with native powers, there was a clause stipulating the exclusion of other European nations. Thus, in the treaty concluded by the Dutch at Gingi in March 1610, it was expressly stipulated that the Aya of Gingi was to permit no trade to other European nations who did not bring papers from the Dutch stadt-holder. In 1611 the English Captain Hippon sailed up the east coast of India and touched at several ports occupied by the Dutch but found that trade with them was impossible. The first efforts of the English at Masulipatam were hindered by native authorities, incited thereto by the intrigues of the Dutch. They touched at Pulicat, but the Dutch effectively prevented any trade being conducted. When Hippon and the merchants of the seventh voyage of the English East India Company went to speak with the Shahbunder (Harbour Master) of Coromandel, Jan Van Wesick, President of the Dutch Company on the coast of Coromandel, met them and, after both sides had exchanged some compliments, the latter showed a copy of the Cowl of the King wherein there was a clause which stipulated that he (the King) should forbid all European nations other than the Dutch from carrying on trade in his country. Sharp words with each other followed.[16]

[16] The following extract from the Journal of Peter Williamson Floris for the seventh voyage (in which he went Cape Merchant) translated out of Dutch (ch. XIII of Purchas: His Pilgrimes Vol. III, page 320) will give us a clear account of what took place in August 1611.

It was some years before the English began to prosper on the east coast. They had real grievances against the Dutch. While reporting on the 13th October 1613 the payment of 1000 pagodas to the Dutch Governor Andres Sere for 3000 pieces of long cloth to be delivered at Masulipatam in nine months, Matthew Duke, the English Merchant at Masulipatam, regrets that the monopoly of this trade wherein the Dutch invest 2/3 of their funds was not in English hands. In 1613-14 the Dutch seem to have done all they could to obstruct the favour shown to the English of Masulipatam by the king of Vellore whose ambassadors had brought excuses for the offences given to the English at Pulicat. The influence of the Dutch was not however great enough for the purpose. How bitterly the English felt their relatively inferior position is amply brought out by English letters. "I fear I shall get but small quantity this year" wrote Lucas Antheunis from Masulipatam in February 1615 (1616) to Sir Thomas Roe about the purchase of cloth, "the time being so far past by coming too late and the best bought up by the Dutch." The Dutch were also charged with opening English letters which fell into their hands and evading to hand them over to the English. On the other hand even English writers admit that they had not much real ground for complaint against the Dutch. "I must confess that I have found hitherto good quarter on the Dutches' part, but till now we have not had to do with them in matters of moment but in friendly society."

Since 1617 the English had a factory at Masulipatam. (Macleod, Page 213) "Masulipatam is a city", says Macleod, "situated near a large river where the English and the Dutch have

"On the eleventh, John Van Wesick, the Dutch President on the Coast of Choromandell, shewed us a Caul from the King of Narsinga, Wencapati Raja, wherein was granted that it should not be lawful for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patents and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had Commission from his Majestie of England, and would therefore do what we could. Hence arose high words, which the Sabandar Calmed, telling of the Governesse, her coming hither within three days.

On the seventeenth came Conde Maa and Captain Hippon coming on shore, wee were readie to go to her, when we received word to the contrarie and that the next day shee would send for us. We suspected the Hollanders close dealing, and the next day sent to Sabandar (no man coming for us) who answered the King had made grant to the Hollanders, and wee must go to him (the dispatching of which business would have cost us two months space, and hazarded monsoon for Patanes if we would procure libertie. The Hollanders also had made readie two Elephants to send to the King. Wherefore, we resolved to prosecute our voyage for Petapoli and Masulipatam.)

their factories; it is very populous, and the residence of a governor who pays a certain yearly tribute to the King of Golkonda which he squeezes out of the inhabitants, the *Gentives;* these people are sorely oppressed by the Persians and Moors who farm all the weaving trade from the great persons: wherefore there is scarce any trafficking here without profit unless you have a patent from the King which is not easy to be obtained because the Governors who pay 14,000 pagodas of annual tribute to the king constantly oppose it. It is a difficult matter to approach the king without purchasing their favour or of some other great men at court. For the rest, the city is a place of great traffic where most of our commodities as also those transported hither from the Moluccas, China, etc., are sold at a very good rate. Here is also a great concourse of merchants from Cambay, Surat and other places under the jurisdiction of the Great Moghul as also from Goa, Orissa, Bengal and Pegu. Here is likewise a considerable traffic in diamonds and rubies. Among the commodities which are transported from Masulipatam, indigo is none of the least." Four English ships under Thomas Sale who died five days after arrival came to anchor by Narepili, 20 miles north-east of Masulipatam. De Haze, the Dutch Chief, considered this a great fortune as he suspected that they had no other aim than to clear the coast of the Dutch as their store of merchandise was too little even for a ship. On the whole in 1617 the Dutch were stronger in the Indies than the English who complained of the Dutch inciting the natives of Masulipatam against the English. "Your factors certify likewise of their ill usage by the inhabitants caused through the instigation and perfidious dealings of the Hollanders residing in those parts and that divers of the English merchants are dead."

In 1618 Matthew Duke wrote from Masulipatam "These butter boxes are grown so insolent that if suffered but a whit longer they will make claim to the whole Indies so that no man shall trade but themselves or by their leave, but I hope to see their pride take a fall." As an example of Dutch unfriendliness is mentioned the case of a broker who had deceived the English two years ago being permitted to take service under the Dutch when he was discovered and fled. Thereupon "as well for satisfaction of the money he oweth us as for retaliation of some part of the many sums he has cozened and to prevent his discovery of our secrets to the Dutch," the English factor apprehended him.[17] But the Shahbandhar released him and, in defiance of the English, the party served, the Dutch. While Andries Souriy, the Dutch Governor-designate of Coromandel, was unloading his cargo at Vizagapatam, he had his eyes on the English ships lying at Masulipatam of which De Haze had been so much afraid. This fear was superfluous as Colonel Pring, the successor of Thomas Dale, was already waiting for news from Surat about the union of the Dutch and English companies. There were as many as ten English ships waiting apparently with the aim of laying hold on the trade as soon the truce came into operation.

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[17] Foster: *English Factories,* Vol. IV, page 351.

(b) *Surat*

Situated between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf on the west and the Ganges valley on the east, Guzerat was from old time a centre of great trade. Besides, Guzerat was exceedingly fertile. A large number of rivers great and small discharged their waters into the Gulf of Cambay. Widely different crops were grown in the valleys of the rivers. Besides grains, peas, beans, rice and sugar, there were two other wares which were of considerable importance in Indo-European trade, namely indigo and cotton cloth. The indigo was required for European consumption, but the cotton cloth was sent to the Archipelago. In this region Surat situated at the mouth of the Tapti was the most important place for European trade. A great deal of goods was consumed by the Mughal Empire, the Moslem Deccan states and the decaying Vijayanagar chiefs. In the Mughal Empire, unlike the territories on the East Coast where princes were numerous and comparatively weak and unable to resist European attempts to build fortified places, no European nation would be allowed to obtain a strong position by establishing forts.[18] At Surat, where the English had already a start, efforts were made by Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador to the Great Mughal, to prejudice the latter against the Dutch. These failed as the Indians gained by the mutual rivalry of the Europeans, and as the Mughals who had no navy were apprehensive of the safety of the pilgrim ships to Arabia unless friendly relations were maintained with the new-comers.

On his arrival in Surat, Sir Thomas Roe received a friendly visit from Van Ravesteyn the Dutch officer who had been sent from Masulipatam in quest of the goods left in Guzerat seven years ago by the deceased Dutch factor, Van Deynsen, when he committed suicide. Admiral Keeling who was in charge of the vessel that brought Roe to India was now requested that, on payment of proper freightage, the recovered Dutch goods and samples might be carried in English vessels to Bantam. The Commander was not unwilling. First, he tried to buy the goods, but when he perceived that such was not the idea of Van Ravesteyn, he agreed to their request. So the Dutch goods which consisted of 30 packets of indigo, a packet of cloth and a chest with fire-locks and pistols were carried in the English ship for Bantam. When the Dutch wanted to pay the freight to the English Commander of the fleet, the latter excused it. The transport of the goods, he said, should be a friendly act which they willingly showed to the Dutch. If such an occasion arrived, the Dutch should also do the same. The goods were actually delivered by the *Dragon* at Bantam in May 1616. Such friendliness was however little appreciated by Jan Pieterson Coen, the Dutch Governor-General, who feared that in return for this small good turn, the English would later make large claims. However, the good understanding between the English and the Dutch in Surat enabled Van Ravesteyn to enjoy the advantage of performing his proposed journey to Berhampore in the company of the English. About the middle of July 1616, Pieter Van den Broecke arrived at Surat in a ship which had already proceeded to Mocha and other places in the Red Sea. He was well received by the Governor and other important persons and received a promise that he might remain there. But the Englishmen who were established there began to intrigue against the Dutch, and Van den Broecke had to face much trouble in his attempt to make the Governor observe his promise. The English factors were much disturbed by the prospect of competition and did their best to induce the local authorities to refuse permission to the establishment of a Dutch factory there. Sir Thomas Roe backed up their efforts by representation at court. He told the Company that he took all possible, steps to injure the Dutch. The Dutch, he said, had arrived at Surat from the Red Sea with some money and southern commodities. "I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. Your comfort is there are goods enough for both." Roe filled the natives' heads with jealousies of the designs of the Dutch and the danger that might arise from them; which was well taken and "being demanded I gave my advice to prevent coming to a rupture with them and yet exclude them the trade of India." But it was to no purpose. Van den Broecke's threat to make reprisals for the treatment of Van Deynsen made some impression, and the natives well knew that the Dutch would make the refusal a pretext for retaliation upon Guzerati shipping. A grudging assent was therefore accorded.

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[18] Terpstra : *Surat*, page 5.

Roe says that in 1616 the Dutch made a voyage under Englishmen's names and had excellent usage and profit. The Surat factors

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told Roe that the Dutch had at first been taken for Englishmen, but they did not admit that they had pretended to be so, and Van den Broecke distinctly asserted that he hoisted the stadholder's flag over the Dutch factory at Mokha.

The English merchants at Surat who entertained the Dutch merchants hospitably were evidently alarmed by the prospect of competition from this quarter. Kerridge expressed a strong hope that the expected fleet from England would drive them away, for such, he said, was their practice against the English wheresoever or whensoever they had power to effect it. Roe's reply was "concerning the Hollanders, I have received instruction from England how to deal — not by force as you intended" and, although he spared no pains to secure their dismissal, he was careful to avoid all show of hostility. In a book published in 1648 at Amsterdam Van den Broecke says "The English did their best with presents and bribes to cause our departure." In his letter to the Directors at Amsterdam describing his voyage, he specifies the amount thus given as 800 reals.[19]

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During the second voyage of Van den Broecke, he was shipwrecked near Surat (1617), and it was a problem how to get out of Surat. A good opportunity seemed to present itself when on the 30th September 1617 an English fleet of seven ships appeared before Surat under the command of Martin Pring. Immediately Van den Broecke went to the English on board and requested that the Portuguese vessel which Pring had captured might be sold to the Dutch or they might be allowed to go to Bantam in their company. Both requests were refused as Roe had sent him a letter emphasising the great danger of Dutch competition and dissuading him from helping the shipwrecked in any way. Hence they made an overland march to Masulipatam. Roe subsequently repented of his callousness.

In 1617 Roe considered the adoption of a vigorous policy in dealing with the native government more necessary as he feared the Dutch might do it first and then he would be a brave man. The prospect of their competition, Roe viewed with indignation and apprehension. "They wrong you in all parts," he said "and grow to insufferable insolence....You must speedily look to this maggot, else we talk of the Portugal, but these will act a worm in your sides....If they keep you out of the Mollucas by force, I would beat them from Surat." It was clearly to the interest of the English to get rid of the Dutch who were troublesome competitors. They would, it was feared, "both outpresent, outbribe and outbuy us in all things." Yet Roe was unwilling for many reasons to show open hostility more especially as the arguments he had used against the Portuguese monopoly would then be turned against himself. He tried to instil into the minds of Asaf Khan the Mogul Governor and Prince Khurram (the future Shah Jahan) a suspicion that the real object of the Dutch was to plunder native shipping in revenge for the injuries previously sustained in Surat and Berhampur, that in any case they would be disordered and unruly, "so that if His Highness could be quietly rid of them, it were a happiness and ease to him."

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[19] India Office Records, *Hague Transcripts* Series I, Vol. II, No. 78. One Real = two Rupees.

In the end, Roe also became earnestly desirous of a settlement of the difference between the two nations. In a letter from Van Ravesteyn, the Dutch chief at Surat, to his employer, the writer, after mentioning Roe's courtesy to him both at Ahmedabad and Surat, continues "I found him a very peace-loving man who is very sorry for the differences between us and the English and would gladly see an agreement arrived at."[20] Roe had asked him "to recommend the Settlement of these troubles and has undertaken for his own part to do his utmost to bring this about." But this did not prevent Roe from advising his countrymen in Surat "I need not counsel you which way, only advise you never to join any stock to profit and loss for their garrison's charges and losses by negligence will engage you to bear part of their follies for no profit."

In August 1619 Roe complained to Prince Khurram that the Mughals had not commanded the Hollanders to disarm as they had been asking the English. "They did not command the like unto the Hollanders who were crept in and offered no service nor assistance to the King and who in all parts sought to get footing and build forts as was experienced in Masulipatam, Pulicat, Moluccas and other places." Upon this was sent a firman to disarm the Hollanders and that none of them in Surat might wear arms. It was added that other Christians were also subject to this restriction.

(To be continued)

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[20] India Office Records, *Hague Transcripts.* Series I, Vol. III, No. XV, quoted in Foster's *English Factories.*

Intercourse of India with the Roman Empire During the Opening Centuries of the Christian Era *

BY

JEAN FILLIOZAT

It was more than 80 years ago that the illustrious Arabic scholar M. Reinaud, who combined the genius of a great historian with the consummate experience of a specialist in several fields, devoted a long memoir [1] to the study of Roman relations with India and the neighbouring countries. By a profound study and discussion of the Latin sources he tried to show that the Romans at the beginning of the Imperial period devoted more attention to Indian territories and their rulers than one might believe. It is possible that he had attached too much importance to the brief allusions to India and the Indians in the works of the Latin poets. The fact remains however that historians dealing with the Western World have generally paid scant attention to the memoir of Reinaud, being, in fact, little prepared to understand that India might have played any significant role in the history of the world. But to-day the labours of the historians of commerce and navigation and the studies and discoveries of Indologists go to show that on the whole M. Reinaud's views were correct.

One ought to have felt doubts earlier. Not only are the Greek and Latin evidences numerous and positive; not only do the geographical data of Pliny,[2] Pomponius [3] Mela and Ptolemy testify

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* Translated from the original French of the author by Sourindranath Roy, M.A., and Miss Sneha Roy, M.A., B.T., and published with the author's permission. The translators have added a few notes which will be found enclosed in square brackets.

[1] Relations politiques et commerciales de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale (l'Hyrcanie, l'Inde, la Bactriane et la Chine), pendant les cinq premières siècles de l'ère chrétienne. "*Journal Asiatique*" 1863, No. 3.

[2] [Gaias Plinius Secundus (A.D. 23/4-79) described India in the 6th Book of his *Naturalis Historia.* His account of the Indian coasts, particularly Malabar, appears to have been based principally on the information received by him at first hand from the seamen who visited India in his own days, and is thus generally more reliable than his description of the interior of the sub-continent, which was apparently derived from much earlier authors like Megasthenes, Deimachos and Patrocles. Dr. W. W. Tarn's view that he used the work of a lost Græco-Parthian historian of the Hellenistic East who flourished about 80 B.C. (Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*

to a deep knowledge of India, but researches which have been multiplying for a long time past also tend to prove that a great number of borrowings were made by India from the Greek and the Hellenistic world. At the beginning of the 18th century P. Pons, one of the greatest Indian missionaries of this period, disclosed the presence of technical Greek terms in Indian astronomical treatises. These terms belonged to the relatively late Alexandrian science and attempts have continually been made to show that India kept herself well-informed about Greek science up to the advanced stages of its development. But what has not been noticed sufficiently is that this knowledge implies relations with the Hellenistic world during the Roman period and that if India had profited from these relations, the Hellenistic world could not have remained blind enough not to know her.

It is true no doubt that different writers have at different times recognised the possibility of reciprocal flow of ideas between India and the West, but they have rarely been paid attention to. The prestige enjoyed by the theories believing in a Greek miracle has prevented any serious investigation into the possibility of the Western world having any relation with the orient. Everything in Hellenic civilisation was believed as being capable of explaining itself by an internal evolution. The 'Greek miracle' consisted in the *ex-nihilo* creation of everything belonging to the Western culture, and there was therefore no reason for studying oriental speculations, which seemed to turn up from a strange and inferior world. Moreover, our knowledge of the Ancient Orient was far from being as advanced as the studies relating to the Classical world. Besides, it was not brought within the reach of non-orientalists. If orientalists were able by their classical studies to acquire some knowledge of the Occident, the classical philologist, being more strictly specialised, did not possess any means to enquire into oriental matters in an adequate manner.

and India) has been refuted in *Trogus' Source, a lost historian of the Hellenistic East*, New Delhi, 1944). For the sources used by Pliny see H. Brun, *De Auctorum indicibus Plinianis disputatio isagogica*, 1856; F. Münzer, *Beitrage zur Quellenkritik der Naturgesch*, 1897; W. Kroll, *Die Kosmologie des ält. P.* 1930; A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie d'klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1893) and also the Translators' forthcoming essay on Pliny's sources for his sections on India.]

3. [Pomponius Mela of Tingentera near Gibraltar, who wrote under Caligula (A.D. 37-41). Book III of his *De chorographia* contains, among other things, a brief account of India and East Asia. See Frick, *Pomponius Mela*, 1880.]

To-day the study of the Orient and of India in particular has made considerable progress. The results acquired so far are sure enough to be incorporated henceforward in the general body of historical knowledge. The importance and influence of the Indian civilisation is so well-established that the necessity of studying the problem of her relations with the West has become imperative and urgent.

About the opening of the Christian era the civilisation of India was not only a long-established one but had already attained to full development. She had effectively organised an immense grouping of societies, had created three great religions, had elaborated or absorbed all the great currents of speculation which she was to go on developing, had constituted a system of mystical technique which was to remain one of her most characteristic traits and had conceived the fundamental elements of sciences that were shortly to be systematised by her into codified treatises. She was ready to show what she was capable of, ready also to direct her expansion towards Central Asia and the Far East.

The far-off times, when the Indo-Aryan tribes, who had bequeathed to her the Vedic hymns, and had invaded the valley of the Indus previously inhabited by more civilised peoples and fought incessantly with them as well as the aborigines, had almost been forgotten. Throughout the Peninsula and the adjoining island of Ceylon hundreds of different peoples had adopted one fundamental common culture, and already almost the whole of India had for over a century been politically united under the leadership of the Mauryas.

During the Achaemenid times the valley of the Indus,[4] which had been conquered by Darius, remained for two centuries linked to the Iranian Empire, having the same status as Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and it came to have extensive intercourse with these countries. But the centre of the Indian civilisation at that time was in the Ganges valley, where flourished, surpassing all, the eastern kingdom of Magadha. After having traversed the Persian Empire Alexander rapidly overran its ancient Indian satrapies.[5] He could not push beyond that. The seizure by him of these territories, far from constituting a conquest, had rather the effect of making it possible for Indian civilisation to reclaim these regions within a short period, a development which the Achaemenids had been able to avoid.[6] The Prefects of Alexander were expelled by the Indians, whose leader Chandragupta had conquered the throne of Magadha and founded the Maurya dynasty in 313 B.C.,[7] uniting under his rule the two valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, as a result of the expansion of the Maurya Empire in different directions effected under his father and in his own reign, ruled a territory which extended from Arachosia to Bengal and from Afghanistan to Mysore. His numerous inscriptions testify to this fact, because they have been found distributed over a large area, covering, in fact, the whole of India except the extreme south, which remained in the hands of the Dravidian races, who still inhabit the region.

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[4] [The valley of the Indus was conquered by Darius some time between 519 and 518 B.C. The Behistun inscription which may reasonably be dated in 519 B.C. does not mention the Satrapy of *Hindu* (Sind) though it mentions *Gandhara* and a people called *Thatagush* (Sattagodā ?). We know that Darius passed 517 B.C. in Egypt that this and the following year saw the establishment of Persian rule in the African countries and that his famous expedition against the Balkans and Scyths commenced by 515 B.C. The years 517 to 513 were thus fully occupied and the conquest of Sind could not have therefore taken place either before 519 or after 517 B.C. E. Herzfeld, *A new inscription of Darius from Hamadan — Memoir of the Arch. Survey of India*, No. 34, Cal. 1928, p. 2.]

Aśoka was the greatest king of his times. He reigned from 264 to 226 B.C.[8] During this period Rome and Carthage were engaged in a mutual combat. Unlike him, neither the Ptolemies nor the Seleucids had the peaceful possession of so vast a territory where their authority was unchallenged. China at last was made to go through fire and blood by Che-houng, who wove it into a unity. The Maurya Empire broke into pieces shortly after the death of Aśoka. Not the least of his achievements was the formation of a unified Indian culture. He illumined the independent Dravidian countries with his pacific influence. Aśoka also endeavoured to spread even among the Greek rulers the ideal that he had himself applied in his own empire — the ideal of governing a people conformably to the principle of universal harmony — the ideal of *Dharma*.

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[5] [That is to say, the region covering the course of the Indus from Kālābāgh to the sea including the whole of Sind and a considerable portion of the Punjāb east of the Indus.]

[6] Cf. 'Alexandre et l'Inde', in *L'Information historique*, July — October 1947, p. 142.

[7] [Scholars are not yet agreed as to the precise date of Chandragupta's accession. The prevailing view that the event took place about 322-1 B.C. was vigorously opposed by Dr. Tarn in his *Greeks in Bactria and India*, (p. 47). But he has since slightly modified his views, and now admits the possibility of the accession having taken place about 321 B.C. The Jain date of 313 B.C. according to him refers to the establishment of the Maurya empire. See Tarn's article on Sandrocottus in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. See also 'The date of the First Maurya Emperor' in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934.]

[8] [The dates usually accepted for Asoka's reign are 272/1-232/1 B.C. This would be clear from Rock edict XIII, which was published in the 12th year of Asoka's reign, and which mentions Magas as the contemporary king of Cyrene. As Magas is definitely known to have died in 258 B.C. Asoka's 12th year could not have been much later than that date. This means that his accession took place some time before 271 B.C., a date perfectly in accordance with that preserved by the Buddhist tradition. See the article in *Indian Historical Quarterly* already referred to.]

To the Maurya period, a period of grandeur and of unified culture of a high order, succeeded a period of troubles. In the second century B.C. the Greeks of Bactriana invaded India and for a while advanced even upto the capital of Magadha. They maintained their position in the Punjab till the arrival of the new invaders, the Iranians of this time, viz. the Śakas and the Parthians. The latter revived in their own favour the ancient domination of the Achaemenid Persians over the Indus region even encroaching a little more on the countries towards the East. The major part of the peninsula nevertheless remained independent. The foreign invaders did not obstruct the natural development of Indian civilisation. They only created a zone for extensive intercourse with her and prepared the way for her outward expansion on the continent.

About 130 B.C. the nomads of High Asia, driven towards the west by a violent whirlpool of events occurring at the Chinese borderland, came into clash with the Parthians and established themselves in Bactriana. In successive waves they drove towards India the populations they had supplanted. They did not have to wait long to raise themselves up for establishing, about the beginning of the 1st century, the great Indo-Scythian Empire, which united with West India the Afghanistan of to-day and a part of Central Asia. Adopting in India the culture of the country and the Buddhist religion they ensured the dissemination of both, not only in the rest of their Empire, but also along the High Asiatic routes which ran towards China.

The Indian territories in the East and the South, which had not attained political unification, included during the same period several very important kingdoms, particularly the kingdom of the

Andhras,[9] which covered the whole of the Deccan, and the Dravidian kingdoms, which always flourished in the Extreme South.

Such was the condition of the Indian world at the time of the formation of the Roman Empire. Rome was not, as it has been believed for a long time, the only great centre of civilisation of the period. Beyond the Iranian countries, the Indian world, which had fully developed itself simultaneously with the Mediterranean world, and the great concourse of races which had conquered Eastern Iran and Western India knit themselves step by step into a united organisation which stretched as far as China. The Roman Empire could afford to do without extensive communications and intercourse with a civilisation as full of vitality and extensive potentialities as the Indian civilisation only to the extent to which it would have been possible for her to become an isolated centre of civilisation remaining aloof from the great world-currents. In fact, the contacts between these two worlds which are attested by Greek and Latin texts, are also confirmed by ancient records and recent archæological discoveries. As regards the interchange of ideas between them that can only be revealed progressively with the progress in the study of India. It is necessary therefore to know precisely what her thoughts were like in order to trace them back finally in their western counterparts.

The routes of communications

For a long time it was the custom to date the beginning of serious trade relations between India and the West from the discovery of the monsoon by Hippalus, which took place before the middle of the first century of our era.[10] A famous passage in Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI, 26; 5-11)[11] gives in fact a valuable historical account of the discovery of the maritime routes to India. After having recapitulated the itenerary of the fleet of Alexander conducted by Nearchus, he goes on to say, "later on *(postea)* it appeared that one could reach Patala (that is to say, the mouth of the Indus) in all certitude starting from Cape Syagrum[12] in Arabia, thanks to the (Westerly) wind called Hippalus". He says in the next place that the age that followed pointed out a shorter and safer route from the same cape to an Indian port,[13] and for a long time this was followed until at last still shorter cuts were discovered.[14] After stating that (in his time) voyages were made every year[15] he gives the details of the route from Egypt, while observing that in these one could find for the first time reliable information *(nunc primun certa notitia patescente)*.[16] From the indications given in the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea* one easily concludes that the wind called Hippalus by Pliny viz. the South Western monsoon blowing from June to October bore this name for having been discovered by a certain Hippalus shortly before.[17]

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[9] [More properly, the Sātavāhanas, who had the whole of the Deccan under their sway from the last quarter of the first century B.C. to about the middle of the second century A.D. See Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition.]

[10] [W. H. Schroff in *the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (1912), p. 227, fixes the date as c. 45 A.D. while W. Vincent is inclined to date the event about 47 A.D. (*The Voyage of Nearchus and the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 1800). Warmington is however in favour of dating it in the first century B.C., *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 44.]

[11] The quotations are all from Littré's edition of Pliny, Paris, 1848.

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[12] [Modern Ras Fartak 15° 36′ N, 5° 12′ E. (See Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 133]

[13] [The Indian port is called 'Sigeris' in Pliny's text, which Schoff is inclined to identify with 'Melizigara' of the Periplus, and 'Melizegyris' of Ptolemy and with modern Rajapur, 16° 34′ N, 73° 31′ E. The latter lies at the head of a tidal creek, and is the only port on the Ratnagiri coast to which Arab boats still trade direct (Schoff, *Op. cit*, p. 201). But it would perhaps be more reasonable to see in 'Sigeris' a corruption of Sanskrit *Śrī-Giri* and to identify the port with *Gheria* (Vijayadrug, port in Ratnagiri District, Bombay 16° 33′ N. and 73° 20′ E.), which may have been formed from *Śrī-Giri* by dropping the first word. The names *Melizigara* and *Melizegyrus* may well have owed their origin to the prefixing of the word Malaya (a name which covers the southern part of the Western Ghats) to *Śrī-Giri*. The Tamil word *Malai* stands for 'hill' (S. N. Majumdar, *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, p. 388). Gheria is reputed to be one of the best harbours on the Western coast, and being without a bar it may be entered in all weathers, and forms a safe south-west monsoon shelter even for large ships. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIX, p. 310]

[14] [Pliny's text reads: 'until at last a still shorter cut was discovered by a merchant and the thirst for gain brought India even still nearer to us'.]

[15] [The original passage reads: "At the present day voyages are made to India every year, and companies of archers are carried on board the vessels as those seas are greatly infested with pirates.]

[16] [The full passage is "It will not be amiss too on the present occasion to set forth the whole of the route from Egypt, which has been stated to us of late upon information on which reliance may be placed, and is here published for the first time.]

[17] E. H. Warmington (*The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 45) places the event a little after 41 A.D. [Warmington however on p. 45 of his work shows inclination in favour of the view suggested by Kornemann and Chowstow who believed Hippalus as living in the first century B.C. See M. Khvostoff Chowstow *Istorica wostochnoi torgovli Greco-rimskage Egipta* (in Russian, i.e. the *History of the Oriental Commerce in Greco-Roman Egypt*) pp. 346-9, 360, 386-7, 433.

Speaking truly, in order to accept as true Pliny's information one must put sufficiently back the discovery of Hippalus if it really related to the route from Arabia to India, which was successively replaced at sufficiently long intervals by two other more advantageous routes.[18] But whatever may have been the real fact about Hippalus himself, it follows from the testimony of Pliny that if some exact details about the route to India used in his time (he died in 79) were then of recent acquisition in Italy, the route itself along with other routes followed previously had been in use for a long time.

Strabo[19] offers us at one and the same time a decisive confirmation of the point as well as most precise details. His testimony carries us back to the end of the 1st century B.C. and is direct. It was during the time when his friend Aelius Gallus was the prefect of Egypt (24 B.C.) that while tracing the course of the Nile as far as Syène and the frontiers of Ethiopia, i.e. the commercial route from Alexandria to the Red Sea, that he came

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Kornemann, *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehman Haupts sechzigstem Geburtstage* Janus Heft I. Warmington gives the same date in his article on Hippalus contributed to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary.* But see for a different view Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* pp. 927, 929, 1556).]

[18] [The successive routes followed according to Pliny appear to have been as follows: *1st* — The route from Cape Syagrus to Patala, this is probably to be identified with the route said to have been discovered by Hippalus. *2nd* — the route from Cape Syagrus to Sigeris on the Malabar Coast. *3rd* — the route from Ocelis (a bay on the northern side of the promontory of Sheikh Said 12° 48′ N. 4° 28′ E.) on Arabian Coast to Muziris (modern Cranganore) or Bacare (Porakad 9° 22′ N. 76° 22′ E.) on the Malabar Coast.]

[19] Geography II 5·12 ["Again, since the Romans have recently invaded Arabia Felix with an army, of which Aelius Gallus my friend and companion, was the commander, and since the merchants of Alexandria are already sailing with fleets by way of the Nile and of the Arabian Gulf as far as India, these regions also have become far better known to us to-day than to our predecessors. At any date, when Gallus was Prefect of Egypt, I accompanied him and ascended the Nile as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia and I learnt that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myos Hormos to India, whereas formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a very few ventured to undertake the voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandize. Loeb's edition Vol. I, p. 454-5. Compare also: "In earlier times, at least not so many as twenty vessels would dare to traverse the Arabian Gulf far enough get a peep outside the straits, but at the present time even large fleets are despatched as far as India and the extremities of Ethiopia from which the most valuable cargoes are brought to Egypt. Strabo, XVII, 1, 13.]

to learn that as many as 120 vessels used to sail annually to India from the port of Myoshormos.[20] He states specifically that it was the merchants of Alexandria who had commenced despatching similar ships in large numbers only a short while ago, whereas under the Ptolemies it was only a very few who might have ventured to undertake the voyage.

It was, therefore, about the time when the Roman Empire was founded or even a little before it that the sea-borne trade of Egypt with India underwent that large expansion which continued till the time of Pliny. It was during this epoch that according to all probability began that quest for shorter, more direct and surer roads of which Pliny has summed up the stages.

We may, therefore, very well shift the date of the beginning of Egyptian intercourse with India from the middle of the first century A.D. as far back as the preceding century. We are not sure that it should not be pushed still further back.

In the first place, Strabo in attesting that during the Ptolemaic period the voyages of Alexandrian merchants to India were rare proves that they did take place. Moreover, the information furnished by Strabo and Pliny merely fixes the date of the first acquaintance made only by the Mediterranean people with the maritime route to India. It hardly implies that the route was previously known to nobody else.

The peoples living on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, it is understood, had not to await the appearance on the scene of the Alexandrian merchants to learn about and utilise the monsoons which, as Pliny explains, made possible at fixed times during each year two-way voyages across their seas. On the other hand, not only Scylax,[21] who was sent by Darius in 519 to explore the lower Indus, returned by way of Egypt, but a good proportion of the Arabian trade, well-known from the time of Herodotus and even earlier, imply a traffic between India and Ceylon on the one hand and Arabia and East Africa on the other. The aromatic barks which Pliny considered as coming from the same regions (XII 41-43) are cinnamon and cassia. Some of these at least should be identified with *canna.*[22] Herodotus (III, 111) has recorded an improbable story about the manner in which the Arabs used to obtain for themselves cinnamon.[23] Pliny (XII, 42) observes that the stories of this kind were invented to increase the price of the merchandise and that in reality cinnamon and cassia grew in Ethiopia, whose people had quite frequent matrimonial relations with the Troglodytes (or Trogodytes)[24] and that the latter

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[20] [Myos Hormos—'Mussel Harbour', identified by Schoff with "the bay within the headland now known as Ras Abu Somer 27° 12′ N. 35° 55′ E." (*Op. cit.* p. 52). Warmington identifies it with Abu Scha'ar (*Op. cit* p. 6), while Dr. L. H. Jones is inclined to identify it with Kosseir (Loeb's Edition of Strabo, Vol. VIII, p. 119). It was also known as 'Aphrodites' Harbour' Cf. Strabo, Geog. XVI, 4, 5: 'It is a large harbour with a winding entrances of which lie three islands; two of thse are densely shaded with olive trees.]

[21] [Scylax, a native of Caryanda in Caria who is reported by Herodotus (IV, 44) to have been commissioned by Darius I to explore the course of the Indus. He started from Caspatyros ('Caspapyros' of Hecataeus, a city still unidentified) and, having reached the sea, sailed west through the Indian Ocean till he found his way to the modern Suez after a voyage of two and a half years' duration. The voyage took place about the same

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time as Darius' Indian campaign, i.e. between 519-518 B.C. Scylax's account of exploration is referred to by Aristotle in his Politics (VII, 14). But the truth of the episode has been doubted by some writers, See *Cambridge Ancient History,* IV, p. 200.]

[22] [Cinnamon was much prized by the Romans as a perfume, as an incense, and as a condiment. But parts of the cinnamon plant were known to the Romans by different names: *Cassia* stood for the wood split while the tender shoots and very delicate barks reserved for emperors and wealthy classes were known as canna or *cinnamon* (Schoff. *Op. cit,* p. 82-83).]

[23] [The story runs as follows: "As for cinnamon they (the Arabs) gather it in a fashion even stranger. Where it grows and what kind of land nurtures it they cannot say, save that it is reported, reasonably enough, to grow in the places where Dionysos was reared. There are great birds, it is said, that take these sticks which the Proenicians have taught us to call cinnamon and carry them off to the nests built of mud on the mountain crags, where no man can approach. The Arabian device for defeating the birds is to cut into very large pieces dead oxes and asses and other beasts of burden, then to set these near the aeries, withdrawing themselves far off. The birds then fly down (it is said) and carry the morsels of the beasts up to their nests; which not being able to bear the weight break and fall down the mountainside; and then the Arabians come up and gather what they seek". Compare also Herodotus III, 107 and II 75 where he narrates similar yarns on the manner of procuring frankincense. "The Arabians gather frankincense", he says "by burning styrax, which the Phoenicians import into Greece, for winged serpents, small in size and various in form, guard the trees that bear frankincenses, a great number round each tree". Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant* IX 6) gives a similar story of cinnamon trees being guarded by winged serpents.]

[*Trog (l) o dytes* (literally, 'cave dwellers') who lived on the Red sea coast, south of Egypt and also on the Iranian and Arabian Coasts, as well as in North-West Africa and on the north side of the Caucasus. Their lands on the Red Sea Coast were explored by the agents of Ptolemy II and III. (Herodotus IV, 183, Diodorus, 3, 32-33, Strabo, 16, 7, 75-6). Although they are described as being nomadic, there are good reasons to believe that transported the products across vast tracts of seas to the land of the Gebanites[25] (the people of Southern Arabia, VI, 32, 11) by whom all the commerce in spices was controlled (XII, 42, 3, 6). The Ethiopia in question cannot be the place of the same name lying near Egypt, in spite of what has been stated of matrimonial relations with the Troglodytes, who are ordinarily located on the east coast of the Red Sea. Otherwise there would not be any point in saying that they had vast seas to cross. Now cinnamon is essentially a product of Ceylon, of East India and South East Asia, of which the majority of inhabitants on account of their dark complexion are 'Ethiopians' in the broad sense of the term, namely, 'men with burnt faces,'.[26] It is in these regions that one should search for Cinnamommophore, the countries which produced cinnamon, rather than in Madagascar or in South Africa, where cinnamon no doubt exists but is much rarer. This opinion is, moreover, not novel. Strabo reported that, according to some authors the Arabs received from India the largest portion of the cassia they exported (XVI. 4. 25).[27] The country of Cinnammomophore is consistently well distinguished from Taprobane or Ceylon, but it was never known geographically in a precise manner. It stands, without doubt, for the entire group of cinnamon-producing countries in the Far East and specially for Ceylon, not only because Ceylon is chief among these countries, but because of the fact that the characteristics applied by geographers to both Ceylon and Cinnammomophore are identical. While according to Strabo Cinnammomophore and Ceylon are on the same lati-

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they could not have been uncivilised. Plutarch (Antony 27) refers to their representatives being received in audience by Cleopatra VII along with Parthians, Hebrews, Syrians etc., and Strabo (17, 1, 13) alludes to the existence of a thriving trade between the Roman Egypt on the one hand and the Troglodytes and the Indians on the other.]

[25] [Gebanites — a desert tribe, tributary to the kingdom of Hadramut, on the south west coast of Arabia. They had their capital at Thoma.]

[26] [The land of Ethiopians (burnt-faced men) was a name normally applied by the Greeks to any regions in the far south. Under the influence perhaps of Homer who distinguished between Western and Eastern Ethiopians (*Odyssey*, I, 22) Aeschylus (*Supp*. 284-6) made the Ethiopians extend to India. Herodotus (esp., 3, 17-23, 7, 61-70) distinguished between the woolly haired Ethiopians and the straight-haired ones (Indians). The tendency to confuse Ethiopians and Indians continued through out ancient times.]

[27] [See also Strabo XV, 22 where he quotes Aristobulus as saying that the Southern land of India, like Arabia and Ethiopia, bears cinnamon, nard and other aromatic products.]

tude (II. 1. 14),[28] and the former is the southernmost country inhabited by man (II, 1, 13),[29] Pliny states that Taprobane was for a long time believed to be a different world called the world of Antichthones (VI. 24, 1), that is to say, a continent counter-balancing the known world. It is thus probable that Taprobane was considered to be identical with Cinnammomophore,[30] although the information regarding it gleaned from ancient sources cannot be relied on. Even the reference to marriage between the Troglodytes and the Ethiopians of the cinnamon-producing countries can be explained only if these Ethiopians are taken to denote Indians or Ceylonese. It often happens in our own days that Indians regularly carrying on trade under the favour of the monsoon with South Arabia and the neighbouring regions and spending there several months each year enter into matrimonial relations with native women. This custom can be traced back to ancient times. But in this case, the marriage referred to seems to be rather those contracted by the Troglodytes in India or Ceylon or even in Indo-China than those effected by Indians in the Arab regions, because according to Pliny it was the Troglodytes who transported cinnamon across the seas. We shall moreover show

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28. ["Let us pass on to the country that rises opposite to the Cinnamon-producing country *Kinnamomophoron* and lies towards the east on the same parallel (*Toũ a'utoũ parallélou*). This is the region about Taprobane." Strabo, 2, 1, 14. See also Strabo, 2, 5, 25.]

29. ["The cinnamon-producing country is the most remote inhabited country towards the south as we know and......according to Hipparchus himself, the parallel that runs through it is the beginning of the temperate zone". Strabo, 2, 1, 13, See also Strabo, 2, 5, 7. "And when you have proceeded about three thousand stadia in a straight line south of Meroe, the country is no longer inhabitable on account of the heat, and therefore the parallel through these regions, being the same as that through the cinnamon-producing country, must be put down as the limit and the beginning of our inhabited world on the south". Again, "But the geographer (i.e. Hipparchus) takes into his purview only this our inhabited world; and its limits are marked off on the south by the parallel through the cinnamon-producing country". (Strabo 2, 5, 34). "But this parallel (i.e. through the cinnamon-bearing country) passes outside the inhabited world, running, on the one side, to the south of Taprobane...." Strabo 2, 5,)'.]

30. [This appears to be suggested by the following passage in Strabo: "And where this (Arabian) Gulf pours outside into the exterior sea is the cinnamon-producing country where in ancient times they used to hunt the elephant" (2, 5, 35). Ceylon, it may be noted was according to the Classical writers the country par excellence where elephant could be found. Dionysios Periegetes spoke of Taprobane as being: the mother of elephants". (709-714) ; Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, Vol. II, p. 481. Strabo quotes Eratosthenes as saying that Taprobane was an island famous for elephants, (15, 1, 14).]

that one more detail given by Pliny[31] according to which cinnamon merchants brought back as home freight glassware and jewellery appears to be corroborated by archaeological discoveries in South India and Cochin-China.

There is every reason to believe that the Indo-Egyptian trade undertaken by the Alexandrian merchants at the time of the foundation of the Roman empire merely continued, supplemented or replaced a trade which had been organised long ago but had remained confined to the seamen from Arabian regions. It was they, who, without doubt, had acted as guides to the first Mediterranean adventurers in these seas, just as later on an Arab pilot served as Vasco da Gama's guide. It is not even improbable that Indians and Ceylonese actively took part in the great voyages from India to the West. The Buddhist texts brought into prominence by Sylvain Levi[32] contain frequent allusions to an extensive seaborne trade of India. Piny has also collected information on Indian seamen. He informs that (VI, 24, 3) the Ceylonese sailed in boats with two prows and a tonnage of 3000 amphora, (that is to say, approximately 75 tons)[33] without observing the stars (the Little Bear not being visible) and carrying with them several birds which they let fly in order to follow their flight towards the land. He also adds that they sailed only four months in the year abstaining for a period of 100 days after the summer solstice. This information is for the most part confirmed. The two-prowed boats are still in current use in South India though with a much reduced tonnage. It is certain that the Little Bear is very low along the horizon. It is surely an exaggeration to say that the stars were not observed at all, as we know from various ancient Indian literary works what importance was attached thereto. On the contrary, it is still more certain that the Ceylonese sailors served themselves with pilot birds (*tīradassī śakunā* — land-seeing bird) in order to find out that they were near the land and in what direction it was to be found. When they were far away (from land), the birds came back to the boat. We have come to know this through an allusion found in a text of Pali Buddhist canon from Ceylon, the *Kevaddhasūtta* (Dīghanikāya, 11).[34] The 100 days at the end of the summer solstice during which navigation was suspended correspond to the season of rains with violent storms.

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[31] [For glass found in India see particularly *Archaeological Survey of India,* XXXVIII, 1, 73, 1911-12, p. 94, 1914-15, p. 24). See also section III of the present article to be published as the next instalment.]

[32] 'Les merchants de mer et leur rôle dans le bouddhisme primitif,' *Bulletin de l' Association franç. des Amis de l'Orient,* October 1929, pp. 19-39.

[33] [For a picture of the two-prowed boat see Schoff, *Op. cit.* p. 212. Pliny's text reads "The vessels of recent times are built with prows at either end so that there may be no need of turning around while sailing in these channels, which are extremely narrow. The tonnage of the vessels is 3,000 amphora". According to Warmington 3,000 amphora equalled 33 tons.]

The data of Pliny are valid for the period preceding the reign of Claudius (41 to 54), as Pliny classes them with those which related to the period previous to the arrival of the Singhalese ambassador to Rome. The latter, as it is known, came to Rome during the reign of Claudius taking advantage of an accidental voyage made to Ceylon by a freedman of the Roman collector of sea customs in the Red Sea.[35] This information, agreeing as it does with the Pali canons, is obviously valid for the period of the canons. But we know from the Singhalese chronicles — (*Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa*) that during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era the Tamils of the Coromandel coast used frequently to disembark in Ceylon with armies capable of conquering a large portion of the island, which presupposes their having a naval force like those which they possessed in later times on the maritime routes of Indo-China and Indonesia. It is not thus impossible that the Indian seamen of South and of Ceylon did participate in company with the Arabs in the voyages towards the West till the Mediterranean peoples themselves found out the route to their countries.

Be that as it may, in Pliny's times and probably from the time when Strabo wrote that one hundred and twenty merchant vessels used to visit India each year the sea-trade with Egypt brought to

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[34] [The passage is: "Long ago ocean-going merchants were wont to plunge forth upon the sea, on board a ship, taking with them a shore-sighting bird free. And it would go to the East and to the South and to the West and the North and to the intermediate points, and rise aloft. If on the horizon it caught sight of land, thither it would go, but if not it would come back to the ship again". T. W. R. Davids in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, p. 432. Cosmas Indicopleustes found this same custom in Ceylon in the 6th century A.D.]

[35] [The Roman Collector of sea customs was Annias Plocamus. The story is that his freedman while sailing round Arabia was carried helplessly by winds until a fortnight later he reached Hippuros, somewhere in Ceylon, where he was entertained by the King who sent back to Claudius four ambassadors led by one Rachias.]

India fifty million sesterces (Pliny VI, 26, 6)[36] being perhaps half of the total sum absorbed by India, Seres (China),[37] and Arabia (XII, 41, 2) in exchange for the products of these countries. This fact proves that the West imported much more than it exported and for a long time it has served to explain the frequent finds of Roman gold coins[38] in India and the obvious influences exercised by the Roman coins upon those of Indian sovereigns. Nevertheless, the Indian texts, agreeing with the *Periplus of the Erythrœan Sea* and the other information supplied by Pliny, testify that the importation of Western merchandise was not absent from the exchange.[39] The Indian texts have been recently studied by M. Meile[40] and he has shown that not only were the Mediterranean products, such as wine,[41] celebrated in the Tamil country, during the period corresponding to the opening of the Christian era, but also the ships of the Greeks were well-known as frequenting the ports of Malabar, such as Muciri (in Greek Muziris, modern Cranganore)[42] and that even the Yavana (Mediterranean) mercenaries were well-known in South India.[43]

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[36] ["The subject is one well worthy of our notice seeing that in no year does India drain us of less than 5,50,000,000 sesterces (about £ 600,000) giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully 100 times their price cost". This is strangely enough confirmed by the Chinsu-Annals which tell us that the Parthians and Indians used to derive three hundred fold profit from their maritime trade with the Roman Empire. (Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient,* p. 42, 45).]

[37] ['Seres' in the passage is taken by Warmington to refer to the Chera Kingdom and not China. This seems to be all the more improbable as Pliny is not only known to have used the term Caelobothra to denote the Chera Kingdom, but was aware of the fact that it was located in South India, bordering on the Pandya Kingdom (VI, 26).]

[38] [On the finds of Roman gold coins in India see Warmington, *Op. cit* pp. 280-2, Sewell J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 623-637, Thurston, *Madras Government Central Museum Catalogue* 2, p. 11-12, Schoff, *Op. cit,* pp. 219-20. The Periplus (40) shows that gold and silver coins were a chief article of Roman import at Barygaza and on this "there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country". The same work also attests that a great quantity of coins used to be imported at the ports of Muziris and Bacara, in the Kerala and Pandyan Kingdoms respectively.]

[39] For example, Pliny (XXXII, 11, 3) points out that coral is exported into India in such quantities that it became scarce in the Roman Empire. It was not therefore the absence of Roman export but the excess of Indian import which rendered the Roman balance of trade deficient to the extent pointed out by Pliny. [Pliny in the same passage shows that the chief sources of supply of coral were Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Baleari̧es and the Coasts of Italy, Spain and North Africa and that the supplies were being exhausted due to the demand for it among the Indians. The *Periplus of the Erythrœan Sea similarly* states that coral was exported to Barbaricon, Barygaza, Muziris and Nelcynda in India (39, 49 and 56). Similarly we are told by Dionysios Periegetes that in the region about Patalene red coral was found everywhere (1103).]

[40] 'Les Yavanas dans l'Inde tamoule', *Journal Asiatique,* 1940, pp. 85-123.

The route indicated by Strabo is in fact the great commercial road which ran along the Nile and the Red Sea with landings at Myoshormos[44] and relay stations at Coptos[45] (II, 5, 12 and XVI, 4, 24). That described by Pliny is more detailed and a little different and provides for a halt in Arabia. The route passed from Alexandria to Juliopolis,[46] from there, by the Nile to Coptos in 12 days, from Coptos to Port Berenice[47] on the Red Sea also in 12 days, from Berenice to Ocelis in Arabia in thirty days and finally from Ocelis to Muziris in 40 days. It took therefore in all a little more than three months to travel from Alexandria to Malabar, the halt at Berenice was made at the time of dog days (i.e. at the time of the heliacal rising of Sirius) the return being made on the ides of January (i.e. 13th). The stay in India could not thus exceed one or two months. The shortness of the stay implies that the Indian merchandise intended to be loaded on the ships were collected in advance for this purpose by the authorities of this country in what the Periplus calls 'designed ports'.[48]

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[41] [The Tamil poet Nakkirar for instance exhorts a Pandya prince to drink in peace the cool and fragrant wine brought by Yavanas in their good ships. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago,* 37-8. The *Periplus* (49) also attests that Italian, Laodicean and Arabian wines were imported into India of which the Italian was preferred to the rest.]

[42] [A Tamil poem speaks of the thriving Muchiri whither the fine large ships of the Yavana (Greeks) came bearing gold, making the water white with foam, and return laden with pepper. (Pillai, *Op. cit,* 19).]

[43] [In the reign of Pandya Aryappadai-Kadantha Nedunj-Cheliyar the gates of the fort of Madura were guarded by Yavana soldiers with drawn swords according to a poem. According to another poem the King's tents were guarded by powerful and stern-looking Yavanas while dumb Mlechchas in complete armour and using gestures, watched in the ante-chamber all night. (Pillai, *Op. cit,* 12). These descriptions may, however, have been influenced by poetic requirements, as it was conventional for Indian poets to introduce Yavana guards in royal palaces.]

[44] ["But at the present time they (the loads of aromatics) are for the most part transported by the Nile to Alexandria; and they are landed from Arabia and India at Myus Harbour; and then they are conveyed by canals over to Coptus in Thebais, which is situated on a canal of the Nile, and then to Alexandria."—Strabo XVI, 4, 24.]

[45] [Coptus (modern Keft) on the right bank of the Nile was a station on a well-equipped camel track through the desert to Berenice (now Suakim) or Myos Hormos on the Red Sea. Strabo states: "now all the Indian merchandise as well as the Arabian and such of the Ethiopian as is brought down by the Arabian Gulf is carried to Coptus, which is the emporium for such cargoes" (Strabo 17-1-45). Both the Coptos-Berenice and Coptos-Myos Hormos routes seem to have been established under Ptolemy Philadelphos though in Strabo's time it was the second route which appear to have grown in importance. But it gradually lost its significance, and when Pliny wrote his book it had already been surpassed by the other route (see Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores* I, 167 ff, 267. Rostovtzeff, 'Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt', *Journal of Economic and Business History IV,* (1932) p. 728. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* pp. 387-388, Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia", J.E.A. IV (1929), pp. 9 ff.]

Jouveau-Dubreuil,[49] relying partly on E. H. Warmington, has presumed that actual residential quarters and factories were established in the ports in question with Roman official functionaries living there on a permanent basis and receiving orders from home. He claims that what he calls Roman settlements is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Silappadigaram,* as flourishing at Kaviripatnam on the coast of Coromandel, under the name of *Yavanarirukkai.* Agreeing with Sewell he further observes that, Roman copper coins of small value, found along the coast of Coromandel had to be coined in India and were not imported, as were certainly the coins made of precious metals, and this will presuppose the existence of Roman establishments similar to those of Indian companies of modern times.

It appears nevertheless that Jouveau-Dubreuil has gone beyond the evidence. He has interpreted several passages of Ptolemy in an entirely wrong manner. When Ptolemy for instances writes (VII. 1.86) : Pounnata en ē Bérullos, "Pounnata[50] where beryl is found," he interprets it to mean "Pounnata factory where we exploited the beryl mines." Now the presence of merchants and especially the official functionaries of the Roman Empire residing in the ports were not indispensable either for the purchase of merchandise or for making ready the stock intended for exportation. The Indian merchants were sufficiently interested in receiving the Roman gold in exchange for their own products to become themselves careful to make ready the cargo for the Yavana ships. There was nothing abnormal in some foreign businessmen being either permanently or temporarily settled in these Indian ports or being allotted particular residential quarters. The separation, as regards social life, of the castes, of which they formed one, all the more necessitated this, without implying that these quarters were either autonomous concessions or territorial acquisitions like European settlements of modern times. One other hypothesis relating to a Yavana settlement has already been referred to, but M. Meile[51] has shown that it is not at all an indispensable one. Moreover, it is not impossible that the small Roman copper coins were imported from Rome or Egypt. A large portion of the petty commercial transactions was carried on in India always at a very low price and these coins could have been considered of sufficient value to be imported and to replace the *cawries* which were generally used and were of still less value. It is not thus certain that the Romans coined money in India. On the other hand, if the coins in question were minted in India they may well have been struck by Indians themselves. We have numerous examples in Indian numismatics of coinage made on foreign models without any direct foreign intervention whatsoever. In the same way the discovery of Roman treasures in many places in India does not prove,[52] as Mr. Wheeler thinks, the penetration of Western traders to the interior. Their journeys to the interior were very probable but the gold which paid for the goods might have travelled without their having to act as intermediaries, being carried by the traders who despatched those goods to the coast for delivery to the former.

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[46] [Juliopolis, a town, according to Pliny, two miles south of Alexandria.]

[47] [For Berenice see Note 45 above. It was a port on the Egyptian Coast of the Red Sea below Ras Benas connected with Coptus on the Nile by a desert camel route, supplied with cisterns and stations.]

[48] [See *Periplus.* I (Schoff, *Op. cit.,* p. 22).]

[49] *Dupleix Ou l'Inde Conquise,* Pondicherry, 1941, p. 26-29, and "Les ruines romaines de Pondicherry".—*Bull. Ec. fr. d'Extr. Or.,* 1940, t. xl., Fasc. 2 (Hanoi 1941), p. 448-480.

[50] [Pounnata is probably to be identified with *Punnada* of the South Indian inscriptions (See Rice, 'Gangavadi', *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*).]

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[51] L.e.p. 118-123.

[52] L.e.p. 19. The Roman coins must have been imported for the most part by the Greeks. The name *denarius* passed, in fact, into Sanskrit and can be found in a number of works of Northern Buddhism under the form *dīnāra*, the pronunciation of η as long *i* being conformable to the Greek way. But this only indicates the great vogue of Roman money and does not imply an installation of a Greek officials of the Roman empire in India. [The word dīnāra in the sense of gold coins can be met with in classical Sanskrit works also, e.g. *Pañcatantra*, *Bṛihatkathā-çlokasaṁgraha* etc. Other proofs of Greek influence on Indian coinage are supplied by *dramma* which is the Sanskritised form of Greek *drachmae* and *statirā*, which is derived from *Stater*.]

From the data that we have we should not therefore infer anything at the moment regarding the status of the merchants of the Roman Empire in Indian ports. In view of the fact that the commerce of India with the West had been established before they entered it with a view to making profit by eliminating the intermediaries there is no ground for believing that they had anything more to do than loading their vessels from the ready-made warehouses and increasing the activities of these warehouses, without having either to organise or to administer them. At the time when, according to Pliny, they made direct voyages to India these merchandises were simply brought for them to the markets they frequented. This is proved by Pliny's information that pepper was brought for the foreign traders to the port of Barace in long boats (monoxyles),[53] which were certainly not of Roman make (VI, 26, 10) ; We have not the right to affirm that they intervened in the trade in any other way than as customers.

The study of the land and river routes of Indian trade shows on the other hand, that the activity of this trade depended much more on Indian production than on the enterprise of Western merchants, for we know that Indian products reached the Mediterranean basin by land and river routes without Western merchants having to fetch them there. In the first place, it is known that most of the merchandise were transported by the caravans passing by Petra and the Nabataean land[54] or by

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[53] ['Monoxyle' is translated by Schoff as "boats hollowed out of a single tree". (*Op. cit.* p. 234).]

[54] [Petra the capital of the Nabataeans between 312 B.C. and 105 A.D. (30° 19′ N. 35° 31′ E.) lay in the Wady Musa, east of the Wady-el-Araba, the great valley connecting the Dead Sea with the Gulf of Akába. It was the great trading centre of the northern Arabs and the junction of numerous important caravan routes running from Yemen northward and from the Persian Gulf eastward. In Persian days the trade was controlled by the Nabataeans, a strong thrifty and well-organised Arab tribe who later became Hellenised under the influence of the Ptolemies who has established control over Phoenicia and Palestine. During the later Hellenistic period the Nabataean State grew rapidly in size and again became the chief clearing house for the Indian and South Arabian caravan trade directing the goods which passed through the Northern Arabian desert either to Alexandria or to the Palestinian and Phoenician ports (Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, pp. 37 ff and 51 ff, Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 195, 301, 303, 470, 494, 515). Numerous inscriptions found between Forat (a Babylonian city) and Dumatha prove conclusively that a brisk trade was being carried on along the caravan route between Babylonia and Petra before the Romans appeared on the scene.]

Palmyra[55] long before the advent of the Romans. To reach these great trade-centres they set out from India by several routes. They were first of all led along the seacoast to Leucecome[56] on the Red Sea, from whence they were transported to Petra and then to Rhinocolura[57] on the Mediterranean. This route, at the time of the expedition of Aelius Gallus in Arabia (23 B.C.) came into serious competition with the sea-route terminating in Myoshormos (Strabo XVI, 4, 24). Another route traversed Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Nabataean state. Several routes traversing Mesopotamia and Arabia converged on Palmyra. Since the time of the Achaemenids the Indian articles of trade moved across the Iranian and Mesopotamian countries in order to reach the Greek realm. In one Hippocratic treatise,[58] which may be, it is true, a little posterior to the fall of the Achaemenids, pepper is mentioned under the name *peperi,* which is stated to be of Persian origin (*Women's Diseases,* 205), but which, in fact, is Indian *pippalī.* This proves that the product arrived in Greece through the channel of Persia.

On the other hand our ordinary sources Strabo and Pliny indicate a Northern route by which Indian merchandises easily reached the West before the establishment of Imperial commerce. Strabo (II. 1. 15) indicates that the Oxus, which separated

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[55] [*Palmyra* (Aramaic *Tadmor,* meaning 'city of Palmyra') standing in an oasis of the great Syrian desert was from its position a halting place for the caravans between Syria and Mesopotamia. The route lying across the desert appears to have been inherited by the Seleucids from the Persians along with other ancient routes. But it does not seem to have been much used by the early Seleucid caravans, the routes most in use being those leading from Mesopotamia across Asia Minor to the Anatolian harbours via Seleuceia. In the troubled period of the second and early first centuries B.C. however the desert route became more convenient and Palmyra became an important centre of caravan trade in the late Seleucid times. This growth can be explained only by assuming a change in the caravan routes (G. P. Grant, *the Syrian Desert, Caravans, Travels, Explorations,* 1937. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities,* pp. 1 ff. and pp. 31 ff. Pere Poidebard *La Trace de Rome dans le desert Syrien,* 1939; D. Schlumberger, 'Etudes sur Palmyre' *Berytos,* ii, 1935, pp. 149 ff. H. Seyrigs, 'Preliminary report on his excavation of the Palmyrian agora in *Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* 1940.]

[56] [*Leucecome* ('white village') on the Red Sea to be identified probably with Sherm Wehj or El Haura. Nabataean Arabs here received in small ships Eastern ware for Petra and the West. (*Periplus M. Rub,* 19; Plut. 51).]

[57] [*Rhinocolura,* identified by E. H. Warmington with 'El Arish' on the border of Egypt. (*Op. cit.,* p. 12). See also Strabo 16-1-32 and 16-2-31).]

[58] [See Edition of Littré, *Oeuvres Complétes d'Hippocrate* (1839-61).]

Bactriana from Sogdiana is considered so convenient for navigation that Indian wares were easily conducted down it to the Caspian sea from whence they were transported by other rivers to the Euxine.[59] Pliny, following Varro, states more precisely that it was learnt by Pompey during the Mithridatic war (66 B.C.), that the merchandise from India took seven days to cross Bactria and reach a river which flowed into the Oxus,[60] that they could after having been transported to the Caspian and being conveyed up the Cyrus be thereafter carried by land in five days to the Phasis [61] which flowed into the Euxine (VI. 19·2). It is evident that during this period this traffic could not have been organised by the Roman traders, the more so as Strabo, repeating in his Book XI [62] the information supplied in Book II tells us that the information dates back to Aristobulus and Patrocles, and thus to the times of Alexander the Great (XI, 7, 3).[63] But it is certain that all these routes were frequently used during the Roman Imperial period and that they helped to increase the intercourse with India.[64]

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[59] [According to this statement the Oxus, which now flows into the Aral Lake should be considered as flowing into the Caspian Sea in Strabo's times. Warmington, however, considers it safer to conclude that after a journey down the river wares were carried by land to the Caspian and then across or round it (*Op. cit.*, p. 27). According to the Rostovtzeff there were two routes which traversed the Caspian region — one running along the north coast and ending in the Bosporus kingdom, the other running along the southern coast and then along the river Cyrus (Kura) to the western coast of the Black Sea.]

[60] [The river which flowed into the Oxus was probably the Icharus.]

[61] [The Greek city of Phasis at the mouth of the River Phasis, was one of the terminii of this caravan route (Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 586), the other terminus being Dioscuria.]

[62] [Strabo's text reads: "Aristobulus declares that the Oxus is the largest of the rivers he had seen in Asia except those in India. And he further says that it is navigable (both he and Eratosthenes taking this statement from Patrocles) and that large quantities of Indian wares are brought down on it to the Hyrcanian sea, and thence on that sea are transported to Albania and brought down on the Cyrus river and through the regions that come next after it to the Euxine". Loeb. Vol. I, p. 253.]

[63] Aristobulus was one of the Greek technicians who followed Alexander's army. His 'history', now lost, was the earliest to have been written on Alexander and was used copiously by Arrian, Strabo and Diodorus (W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* Vol. II). Patrocles was Greek Commander at Babylon about 312 B.C. Under the Seleucids he governed lands from the Caspian towards India. About 285 B.C. he was sent to explore the Caspian, voyaged up its western coast and then its eastern sides and learnt about the Indian trade down the Oxus. (Strabo, II 2-1-2-6, W. W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XXI, 10 ff). According to Strabo, Patrocles derived much of his information from the writings of Alexander's officers, which were presented to him by Xenocles, Alexander's treasurer, (Strabo II, 1.5).

We know the route from Bactria to India well at present thanks to the recent monumental publication of Foucher.[65] We know also that it conveyed not only the merchandise from the North-west of India but from the whole country, Bactria being connected with the western ports lying to the south of the mouth of the Indus by the usual routes in such a way that by these links the land and river routes passing through Bactria were joined to the sea route terminating in the same ports.[66] Thus when the Trans-Iranian land route was stopped, as it was often the case during the struggle between the Roman Empire and the Parthians and the Sassanids, one could reach Bactria by way of the Indian ocean, Sind and the Punjab. When, under Antoninus Pius (138-161), the Hyrcanian ambassadors reached the shore of the Caspian sea intending to return home they asked for permission to set sail on Red Sea with the object of avoiding Parthia.[67]

All these positive facts regarding the roads linking India to the Roman Empire show us that they were established long before the Empire. They ran over land and sea and covered the north, the south, and centre of the Middle East.

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[64] We see from the above how unacceptable is the view expressed by Rostovtzeff in the *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* Oxford 1926, p. 173 (adopted by M. Ghirshman in the book quoted below), that the commerce of India would not have existed without the Alexandrian merchants. [Professor Rostovtzeff however expresses a different view in his *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* Vols. I-III, see pp. 78, 79, 83, 84, 173, 455-9, 461, 462, 545, 547, 658, 676, 795, 676, 864, 1165, 1248, 1264, 1318, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1490. See also his *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia.*]

[65] A. Foucher, *La vieille route d l' Inde de Bactres à Taxila.* Mém. Dél. Arch. fr. en Afgh; t.i. Paris 1940-1947 (2 vols.).

[66] *Ibid.* p. 221, 238, 327.

[67] Cf. L. Ghirshman, *Begram, Mémoir Inst. fr. d'arch. or, t.* LXXIX and *Mem. Del. Arch. fr. en Afgh. t.* XII Le Caire, 1946, p. 128 who cites Tacitus, Annals, XIV 25. [The text is reproduced below: "The success (in storming Tigranocerta) was easier, as the Parthians were distracted by a war with the Hyrcanians, who had sent envoys to the Roman Emperor, imploring alliance. When these envoys were on their way home Corbulo (the Roman proconsul in Asia) to save them from being intercepted by the enemy's picquets after their passage of the Euphrates, gave them an escort, and conducted them to the shores of the Red Sea whence, avoiding Parthian territory, they returned to their native possessions."]

(To be continued)

Kāmandakīya Nītisāra *

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The Kāmandakīya Nītisāra belongs to the age of the Guptas. Kāmandaka openly declares that he is summarising the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya, whom he applauds as a great authority on polity.[1] Then is the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka only a replica of the entire Arthaśāstra text ? The answer is in the negative. For, if we turn to Kauṭalya's Arthaśastra, we have 180 chapters dealing with the science of politics. In the Kāmandakīya on the other hand there are only thirty-six chapters. An examination of the subject-matter in both the treatises shows that the matter dealt with in four adhikaraṇās of the Arthaśāstra finds no place in the Kāmandakīya. These four books are Adhyakṣa Pracāra dealing with civil administration in general, Dharmaśthiyam (civil law), Kaṇṭakaśōdhanam (criminal law) and Aupaniṣadikam, secret means such as spells and charms). The first three books cover practically nearly half of the text of the Arthaśāstra. They deal with civil service and legal technicalities.

It is indeed a moot question why Kāmandaka who aimed at an epitome of Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra ignored these important topics which are very vital to any administration. One argument put forward is that this celebrated Nīti writer had not the grasp to understand the original of Kauṭalya and in support of this it is contended that Kāmandaka cultivated the habit of literally versifying the aphorism of Kauṭalya in an artificial manner, without understanding the point at issue, and that he gave prominence to court favourites, female attendants and others in the hierarchy of government, which was against the idea of his master.[2] It is rather difficult to subscribe to this view. A writer who could understand the other parts of the text may well be credited with the knowledge of the whole. He states as a matter of fact that he presents a portion, *yat kimcit.* His writings do not show that he was an immature youth dabbling in politics. It seems reasonable to suppose that his object was to present to the public a work which would contain general maxims and be popular and catch its imagination. The very fact that he has been quoted as an authority by subsequent writers points out that his work evoked respect from the public. Further it may be that he wanted his work to be a first class Nītisāra where legal and administrative technicalities have no place. No one can deny that the Kāmandakīya takes the first rank among the Nītisāras.

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[1] Chapter I, verses 2 to 8; Chapter II, verse 6.

[2] K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 24-25.

As for the other point of assigning a status to favourites, jesters and others of that stamp, it may be that the Kāmandaki reflects the spirit of its age. True the spirit of the Kauṭalyan tradition pervades all through the Nītisāra. At the same time one or two departures may be due to the environment and circumstances of the times. To quote one or two instances. Both authors disagree regarding the doctrine of the Maṇḍala. It must be noted, as Jacobi admirably puts it that Kāmandaka was not a biassed partisan of his guru or more accurately Paramparāguru. Kauṭalya would agree to the appointment of a court astrologer, though in principle he would condemn astrology and astrologers. Kāmandaka has a definite recommendation to appoint an astrologer to the king. Whatever that may be, the fact remains Kāmandaka has presented what we may call an abridged edition Samkṣiptagrantha of the Kauṭalīya, omitting certain portions, however important they may be to a student of Hindu administration. One notable difference between Kauṭalya and Kāmandaka is that while the former was a statesman, the latter's interest was purely academic.

What is more difficult is to fix his date. Dates ranging from the first to the sixth centuries A.D. have been assigned. The extant Pañcatantra could not be later than the sixth century A.D. It contains as many as fourteen quotations from Kāmandaka. Again, the reference to the Kāmandakīya Nīti in the opening chapter of the Daśakumāracarita by Daṇḍin (Circa 550 A.D.) is another positive proof that the Nītisāra had become popular before the middle of the sixth century A.D. Prof. Jacobi, who is an impartial critic, would place the Nītisāra at the earliest in the third century A.D.[3] Though there is nothing to say against this date still it will be more acceptable if the date is fixed about a hundred years later. Kāmandaka may be assigned to the close of the fourth century when the Gupta empire was firmly established and a Pandit like the author of the Nītisāra would have felt the need for a practical manual of politics and he wrote one for the benefit of the imperial Guptas.

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[3] Ind. Ant. 1918, p. 159.

The very fact that the author drew all his material from the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya shows that the treatise was felt too detailed and too cumbersome for the ever-busy monarch to digest. So a handy volume on polity was most welcome and this task fell on the shoulders of Kāmandaka, the erudite Pandit of the time. This also demonstrates beyond doubt that the Gupta emperors followed faithfully the Kauṭalyan tradition of government and methods of administration, perhaps with some modifications here and some transformation there. All the same, the spirit of Kauṭalya pervaded the Gupta atmosphere.

In his introduction to the translation of the Kāmandakīya Nītiśāra, M. N. Dutt writes : " From a report submitted by Dr. Frederick to the Batavian society of arts and sciences on the Sanskrit literature of Bali, it appears that the most popular work in that island on polity is entitled Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, and all the Sanskrit books there extant are acknowledged to be the counterparts of purely Indian originals. Further researches in the far-east showed that the Hindus of the place were aware of the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka at a date anterior to the fourth century. It is well-known that the people of Bali were familiar with a Nītisāra and a Kāmandaka, certainly imported from the shores of India to that Island. Thus it can be seen that this is a work of the Gupta times.

This view is further strengthened by the fact that Abu Salih who made an abstract of this book calls the author of this book as Sifar which corresponds in Sanskrit with Śikhara. The Arab writer gives the name of this book as instruction to kings. We know that Śikhara was the prime-minister of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. Kāmaṇḍaka was most probably the family title of Śikhara as Kauṭalya was of Vishnugupta. The Arab translation of this work was probably undertaken under the Abbasid Caliphs. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal is right in holding that it was a Gupta production.[4] The late Gaṇapati Śāstri who edited the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* also holds the view that it was an ancient work at least as ancient as the time of Bhavabhūti and Daṇḍin. Both Bhavabhūti and Daṇḍin knew this work and so to become popular during their time it should have been in existence before them.[5]

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[4] See Hindu Polity, Vol. I, p. 15 and also JBORS. pp. 37-39.
[5] TSS. No. 14, pp. 5-6.

It is further held that the opening verse of the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra gives a clue to the time in which the author flourished, i.e. the reign of Chandragupta II. He calls his patron as 'deva'. We have inscriptional evidence in Āmrakārdava that the pet name of the king was Dēva. Hence Chandragupta II is well-known as Dēvagupta which name occurs in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions [6] where Prabhāvati Gupta is described as a daughter of Dēvagupta. The identification of Chandragupta II with Dēvagupta has been discussed.[7] We are to understand that Gupta is a surname and not a royal name. The Royal name was however in this case Dēva and the opening verse of our Nītisāra mentions that name as can be seen clearly.

There are one or two internal evidences to show that the author of the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra was none else than Śikhara, the prime-minister of Chandragupta II. In section 1, verses 7 and 8, the author is explicit when he says that he is giving instruction to the king by his manual. In another verse (Chapter 25, verse 71), he seems to defend the murder of a Śāka by his sovereign by strategem when he says: "Morality is not offended by a murder of an enemy through disguise." This was the Śākādhipati of the empire of the Śākās. He was also shahanushahi, i.e., he was not only their emperor but also their religious leader. Śikharasvāmin was so powerful that he made his Prithvīsēna continue as mantri and Mahābalādhikṛta under Kumāragupta I. Thus we are inclined with Jayaswal to identify the author of the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra with Śikharasvāmin who was the mantrin of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.

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[6] Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 235 ff.

[7] See IA. 1912, p. 215, JRAS 1914, p. 325.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

Annals of Old Madras

BY

K. Narasimhachari, M.A.

THE RED JUDGE

Hail, misty morn, whereon our Law awakes
From slumber, and with clear if veiled eyes
Does from her couch of wool refreshed arise;
Her powdered locks adown her shoulder shakes;
And for her Courts her chamber dim forsakes;
But first her homely aspect must disguise
In coif, and ermine, and those regal dyes
With which rude Force her strength majestic makes.

(Scintillae Juris and Meditations in the Tea Room by Mr. Justice Darling p. 107).

When the QUARTERLY SESSIONS are held in the High Court of Judicature at Madras in February, April, August and November every year visitors throng to the Sessions Court and round about to witness the procession conducting the Red Judge to the Court. The Chobdar carries the silver-gilt mace in front. He is followed by two of the servants of the Sheriff carrying javelins. Next comes the Sheriff clad in his ceremonial dress carrying a silver wand. Then comes the Judge attired in scarlet robes followed by the Commissioner of Police in his official dress. The Jury summoned to serve witness the procession pass along. The members of the Bar and the Apprentices-at-Law are also attracted by the Procession. To all of them this pageantry and pomp and further proceedings in Court will indeed be dull unless they had some knowledge of what all these mean. Particularly the law student and the apprentice-at-law should know something of these matters in order that they may not fare like the law student at his examination "who being required to draw a common conveyance sketched a hansom cab". This procession is but a relic of the old English system of the King's Judges going on Circuit.

In order to understand and appreciate it we have to have a peep into the historical background, the traditional, conventional and judicial sanction accorded to the holding of these Courts, the judicial robes, and the ceremonies connected therewith as they were before they were transplanted into the Indian soil.

The Kings of England had, from a period much earlier than the Norman Conquest, claimed and exercised and still claim and exercise the prerogative of being the fountain of justice. In later laws the King specified the pleas of Criminal Justice which he retained for his own administration and profit. Such a list is given in the laws of Canute.

The King also exercised his prerogative of justice locally by the agency of Commissioners authorized to try peculiar causes and classes of causes in particular places. The cases to be tried and the local limits of jurisdiction were determined by the terms of the Commission. The progress of the Judges under the Commission is commonly called a Circuit.

Under the Norman Kings, the King's Court or Curia Regis, assumed greater importance. It was the great centre not only of business but of Society. The Saxon Chronicle says of William the Conquerer (1066), "Thrice he wore his Crown each year as oft as he was in England. At Easter he wore it in Winchester; at Pentecost at Westminster and at Midwinter at Gloucester; and there were with him all the rich men over all England, Archbishops and Diocesan Bishops, Earls and Thegns and Knights." The pleas followed the person of the King and the machinery of justice went with them.

At the King's Court held at those solemn times of the year, there was placed the throne or sovereign ordinary Court of Judicature, wherein justice was administered to the subjects either by the King or his High Justiciar. With these *barones Curioe Regis* the King consulted in weighty affairs and did many solemn acts in their presence and with their concurrence. They or such of them as ordinarily attended the King's Court by his command, were (together with some of the Bishops and Prelates) concerned in managing the affairs of revenue and in distributing public justice in causes brought into the King's Court. These, in time, came to be called the Concilium Regis or the King's Council.

Then the King's Court came to be divided into two departments, the Curia Regis and the Exchequer. In the one justice was administered, matters of state were debated and public ceremonials of all kinds were celebrated. In the other were managed all affairs relating to revenue.

In the Curia Regis or the King's Court the Norman Kings exercised as well in Criminal as in Civil cases the Original and Appellate Jurisdiction. When the King was beyond the Sea, the Chief Justiciar presided over the Curia Regis as the Chief Judge both in Criminal and Civil cases. William the Conqueror and his sons and Henry II and his sons issued Commissions to their justitiarii just as they are issued in the present day to the Judges of the High Court of Judicature.

With Magna Charta (1215) the name Curia Regis ceases to be used. And the pleas are said to be held in *Coram ipso rege*— which expression corresponds to the Justices of our King Emperor assigned to hold pleas before the King himself. It also corresponds to the legal fiction which supposed the King to be in some mystical way personally present in the Court of the King's Bench (it may be in all the superior Courts). The theory of the sovereign's presence has always been kept up. The fiction that all proceedings in the Court are before the King in person has important consequences. "This Court", says Blackstone, "is not, nor can be, from the very nature and constitution of it, fixed to a certain place, but may follow the King's person wherever he goes. It takes cognizance of both Criminal and Civil cases—the former on what is called the Crown side, the latter on the Plea side of the Court."

"The Justices in this Court" says Lord Coke, "are the sovereign justices of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and Conservators of the Peace within the realm".

The Commissions of Oyer and Terminer are found in existence at the same time as the Commissions of Gaol Delivery. The origin of the latter Commission itself is a matter of conjecture. They are probably as ancient as the Gaols themselves and the local administration of justice by royal officers.

From the time of Edward I upto the year 1875 the King's Court has continued to be the Supreme Criminal Court of the realm.

From the time of Edward I Judges are appointed by Letters Patent. The King, who hath himself sat in the Curis Regis, hath distributed all his whole power of judicature to several Courts of Justice. The Justices of the Court of King's Bench have supreme authority, the King himself sitting there, as the law intends. Out of this Court are other Courts derived, as from one fountain several springs and rivers, in respect of the multiplicity of causes, which have increased.

The Commission of Oyer and Terminer was usually opened on a Monday. The real business of the Assizes began with a flourish of trumpets, not necessarily in harmony, which announced that His Majesty's Judges would take their seats in half an hour, and another flourish that they had done so in the Crown Court, which is the great object of attraction. A real judge is a sight to see; he is clad in scarlet; the High Sheriff, in a mysterious costume, sits beside him. As trumpets initiated the Assizes, so they celebrated their termination. The rickety post-chaises were again called into requisition and in another town the judges underwent the same trumpeting and with their last blast each town was left to slumber in its pristine dullness (Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life by S. Ballantine Vol. I, pp. 62-67).

The javelin men now forming part of the procession are but a relic of the olden days. Formerly in England the Sheriff of a County or a Borough had a body of men armed with javelins and known as "javelin men" who acted as a bodyguard for the judges when they went on circuit and presided at the Assizes. Though by an Act of 1574 the Sheriffs were relieved of the burden of furnishing suitable lodgings and cheer not only for the judges on circuit but also supplying the wants of their attendants, they were still bound to attend upon the judges and make suitable provision for the safe conduct of the legal functionaries from Assize town to Assize town — the Sheriff of each county being required to furnish a bodyguard for the protection of the sovereign's representatives. This responsibility lasted till the time when guards of policemen paid by county rates were substituted for bands of javelin men equipped and rewarded by the Sheriffs (A Book about Lawyers by J. C. Jeaffreson, Vol. I, pp. 243-244).

Lord Halsbury once declared when a young man (1875) that "the whole question of Circuits was a mere matter of etiquette sanctioned by usage and guaranteed by custom". "Circuit life," says Claud Mullins, in his book "In Quest of Justice" (1931), "thrived in leisurely days. Today it is but the shadow of what it once was".

"My first view of circuit life," says Gilbert Coleridge, "was from an upper window over a haberdasher's shop which gave on to the square opposite the Assize Courts at Salisbury, where my father and mother lodged. It was ushered in by a blare of trumpets and a display of flying pennons attached to the "javelin men", who marched beside the state coach and four horses, which conveyed the Judge from his lodgings to the Court House. The mediaeval halberdiers and their gay caparison appealed strongly to the imagination of the small wide-eyed boy who gazed at them, as they should to any with a spark of youth in their composition. I remember them now with regret, for, alas! estates are now so overburdened with taxes that High Sheriffs are no longer the men they were, and it is only a rich trader who can afford a splash when he undertakes the office. I have even heard of a Judge conveyed to Court in a motor, and, if such a degradation be possible, a side-car may be his vehicle in the future! Child as I was, I was taken into Court one day to see my father in his wig and gown conduct a case and address the Judge, whose scarlet and ermine made a great impression upon me. It was Mr. Justice Willes, I believe. The case was a famous one, though I took in little beyond the pomp and circumstance of the Court at the time: it was that of Constance Kent, who was arraigned for the murder of her little brother". (Some and Sundry by G. Coleridge, pp. 167-168).

The trials at the Old Bailey, too, have always assumed something of the nature of a pageant. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their furred robes and chains of office, who attend as part of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer — his Lordship of the High Court in scarlet and ermine, the Sword of State above the Judge's chair, the gaily-coloured bouquets on the Bench — all go to impart that blend of colour so pleasing and picturesque a relief to the drab background of modern life (Famous Advocates and their Speeches by Kelly, p. 21).

The robes of the Judges in England are of considerable antiquity. Antiquaries labour in vain to discover all the facts relating to their origin and history. Judicial costume varied with the fashion of the day or the whim of the sovereign during the 14th and 15th centuries from scarlet to green or violet in grain. Among the State papers of 1625 is a "Discourse on what robes and apparel the Judges are to wear....and when" and on the 4th of July 1635 there was a "solemn decree and rule made by all the Judges of the Courts at Westminster". The costume of the judges of the High Court at the present day differs very little from that given in the order of 1635. The dress worn when trying Criminal cases, attending Church officially, and on "red letter days" in the Courts, consists of scarlet gown, with a broad black belt, a tippet trimmed with white fur, known by courtesy as "ermine" (this is worn only on state occasions), and a scarlet casting-hood, always worn with the scarlet gown, the end of which is passed under the belt. For summer the robes are of thinner stuff, faced with slate-coloured silk instead of ermine. The full-bottomed wig is worn on state occasions; at other times a wig is worn similar to that of the barristers, except that it has one vertical curl just above the tail of the wig instead of the three rows of horizontal curls going all the way round. The cap is carried in the hand as part of the full dress and only worn when a judge is passing sentence of death. (Encyclopaedia Brittannica XI Edn. Vol. XXIII, p. 411).

The two Geneva-like bands worn around the throats of judges and counsel first came into use after the first quarter of the seventeenth Century and superseded the standing ruff that was in use in the time of James I and after the Restoration assumed a foppish richness in keeping with the French fashions" that crossed the Channel with the Merry Monarch (A Short History of the English Bar by B. W. Kelly, pp. 120-124).

At the Restoration in 1660 in Charles II's reign Judges resumed the attire and usages of their predecessors as they wore in the reign of Charles I. Notwithstanding their zeal in reviving old customs, the lawyers of the Restoration period introduced certain novelties into legal life. From Paris they imported the wig which still remains one of the distinctive adornments and an integral part of the legal official dress.

Prior to the introduction of the wig the judges wore in Court velvet caps, coifs or cornered caps, the moustache in many cases adorning the lip and a well trimmed beard giving point to the judicial chin.

The coif cap is still worn in undiminished proportions by judges when they pass the sentence of death, and is generally known as "the black cap". In old time the justice, on making ready to pronounce the awful words which consigned a fellow-creature to a horrible death, was wont to draw up the flat, square, dark cap, that sometimes hung at the nape of his neck or the upper part of his shoulder. Having covered the whiteness of his coif and partially concealed his forehead and brows with the sable cloth, he proceeded to utter the dread sentence with solemn composure and firmness. At present the black cap is assumed to strike terror into the hearts of the vulgar; formerly it was pulled over the eyes to hide the emotion of the judge (A Book About Lawyers by J. C. Jeaffreson, Vol. I, p. 284).

At the outset the wig was strongly resented as an unwarrantable innovation. Some of the judges obstinately refused to disfigure themselves with false tresses. Sir Matthew Hale and many other judges refused to wear the foreign headgear. There were yet others who displayed a foppish delight in the new decoration. By the reign of James II both the Bench and the Bar had succumbed to the prevailing fashion. One reason, perhaps, why the wig became so generally popular was because it was found "to lend gravity to the meanest countenance". The kind adopted by the lawyers soon became peculiar to them alone, and was readily distinguished from those worn by the middle and upper classes of laymen. At present the "full bottomed" or flowing wigs of Judges and King's Counsel, are reserved for occasions of state, such as attending royal levees, the reopening of the law courts after the long vacation, and in the case of his "Majesty's Counsel" on being called within the Bar, and when conducting appeals before the House of Lords.

Many are the good stories told of judicial wigs. And here is one recorded by Dr. Burney :

In or about 1720 there lived next door to me in Poland Street and in a private house a capital hair-merchant, who furnished peruques to the judges and gentlemen of the law. The merchant's female children and mine used to paly together in the little garden behind the house ; and unfortunately one day the door of the wig-magazine being left open, they each of them put on one of those dignified ornaments of the head and danced and jumped about in a thousand antics laughing till they screamed at their own ridiculous figures. Unfortunately in their vagaries, one of the flaxen wigs, said by the proprietor to be worth upwards of ten guineas — in those days a price enormous — fell into a tub of water, placed for the shrubs in the little garden, and lost all its gorgon buckle, and was declared by the owner to be totally spoilt. He was extremely angry and chid very severely his own children ; when my little daughter, the old lady, (Frances afterwards Madame'D'Arblay), then ten years of age, advancing to him, as I was informed, with great gravity and composure, sedately says : "What signifies talking so much about an accident ? The wig is wet, to be sure ; and the wig was a good wig, to be sure ; but it's of no use to speak of it any more ; because what's done can't be undone ".

"Whether these stoical sentiments appeased the enraged peruquier I know not, but the younkers were stript of their honours, and my little monkies were obliged to retreat without beat of drum, or colours flying". (Dr. Burney's Memoirs, Vol. II, pp. 170-171).

There is that anecdote which that malicious talker Samuel Rogers delighted to tell at Edward Law's expense. "Lord Ellenborough", says the 'Table Talk', "was once about to go on circuit, when Lady Ellenborough said that she should like to accompany him. He replied that he had no objection provided she did not encumber the carriage with bandboxes, which were his utter abhorrence. During the first day's journey Lord Ellenborough, happening to stretch his legs, struck his foot against something below the seat; he discovered that it was a bandbox. Up went the window, and out went the bandbox. The coachman stopped, and the footman, thinking that the bandbox had tumbled out of the window by some extraordinary chance, was going to pick it up, when Lord Ellenborough furiously called out, "Drive on!". The bandbox, accordingly, was left by the ditch-side. Having reached the County town where he was to officiate as judge, Lord Ellenborough proceeded to array himself for his appearance in the Court-house. "Now", said he, "where's my wig? Where is my wig?". "My Lord,", replied his attendant, "It was thrown out of the carriage window!" (Ibid. pp. 291-292).

The visits of the "Red Judge" influence the public mind mainly because he tries murderers and others accused of serious crime. It has a beneficial and educative influence. Red robes on the part of judges ofcourse give an additional air of importance to the court and the criminal classes with that love of the melodramatic, which seems to be one of their marked characteristics, are keenly alive to the "distinction" of being tried by a "Red Judge". Like the "Artful Dodger", they think that if they must "Go off," it ought, at least, to be with a proper amount of "honour and glory". This predilection for colour is largely shared by the public in the gallery who also like to see "His Lordship" in scarlet and strongly resent the black silk gown (A Short History of the English Bar. B. W. Kelly, p. 123).

"India", says Viscount Jowitt, Lord Chancellor, "enjoys the tradition of British Justice". The silver-gilt mace carried nowadays before the Judge is a relic of the Mayor's Court established at Madras in 1688. The beginnings of British Justice at Madras date back to 1678 when Sir Streynsham Master instituted a Court of Judicature consisting of the President (later styled Governor) in Council. Nine years later an Admiralty Court was erected on July 28, 1687 with Sir John Biggs as Judge-Advocate to deal with interlopers and to hear Admiralty cases. A silver oar to be carried before the Judge-Advocate was made and sent from England (Vestiges of Old Madras by H. D. Love, Vol. I, p. 500). The jurisdiction of this Court was not confined to Admiralty Cases proper. It was the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Settlement and the Judge-Advocate presided at the Quarter Sessions as well as at an occasional Court Martial. In 1688 Sir Josiah Child, Director of the East India Company, followed it up by raising the city to the dignity of a Municipality by bestowing upon it a Mayor and Corporation under a Charter issued under the Company's Seal. The Mayor and Corporation, fully representative of all communities resident in Madras, Englishmen, French, Portuguese, Jews, Armenians and Natives, was intended to be an effective machine to reconcile the inhabitants to a system of local taxation which they not only refused to pay since 1686 but also resorted to strike methods by abandoning their duties, closing up their shops and hindering the passage of provisions to the settlement. The charter of Portsmouth was adopted as the model. The framers of the constitution were not unmindful of what was due to the dignity of this new body. Robes in scarlet serge were ordained for the Mayor and Aldermen and white silk gowns for the Burgesses. Sir Josiah Child further directed by a letter dated September 28, 1687 addressed to the President and Council of Fort St. George, that "for the greater solemnity and to attract respect and revenue from the common people, the Mayor is to have always carried before him when he goes to the Guildhall or other places of assembly, two silver maces gilt not exceeding three and half feet in length and the Mayor and Alderman may always upon such solemn occasions wear scarlet serge gowns, all made after one form or fashion, such as shall be thought most convenient for that hot country". In happy ignorance of the customs of the Hindus, the masterful Chairman of the Board of Directors fondly hoped that the robes of office would be an attraction to the native citizen and lure him on to appear as a candidate for an Aldermanic seat. He little knew that a Brahmin, whose full dress then consisted of a snowy flowing loin cloth and a sacred thread, would have fled to further India sooner than don an Aldermanic robe (On the Coramandel Coast by F. E. Penny, p. 122). He had apparently hoped that the pageantry and semblance of power would cajole the wily Hindoo and careful Gentue into parting with their fanams for public good. The proposal had much to commend it but like many Western innovations,

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when transplanted to Asiatic soil, it did not work in the way intended. The Corporation did not raise any taxation or found any institution of the kind contemplated; on the contrary the Governor and Council had to assign the town revenues to it, to prevent it falling into insolvency (The First Century of British Justice in India by Sir C. Fawcett, p. 204). Under that Charter the Mayor and Corporation were also a Court of Record. It had summary jurisdiction in Civil suits not involving more than ten rupees and in Criminal cases anything short of taking away the life or limb of an offender. In the latter cases the offender or Prisoner was to "have the Liberty within three days after such Sentence passed upon him to appeal to Our Supreme Court of Judicature". This Mayor's Court was superseded by a Court of the same name and with the same powers erected under a Royal Charter issued in 1726. It is by this Charter that the Sheriff is appointed for the first time and continues till this day. In 1746 Madras was captured by the French. This put an end to the Mayor's Court. Madras was restored to the English in 1749 under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By a letter to England dated 5-7-1752 it is reported that the place has not recovered itself from the great inhumanity of the French in 1747. So it was not until 1753 that the Mayor's Court was revived under a fresh Charter.

The Insignia of the Old Mayor's Court being reported lost during the French occupation, new Emblems, "the usual Ensigns of State such as the Sword, the Mace, Silver Oar, etc." were ordered from Bombay. It subsequently transpired that, though the Company's service of plate was appropriated as spoil by the French, part at least, of the insignia of the Mayor's Court was preserved, to be afterwards ignobly sold though in a tradesman-like spirit—and the profits credited to the Company.

Since that date the silver-gilt maces have been in use in the several courts that superseded the Mayor's Court, namely, the Recorder's Court in 1798, the Supreme Court in 1801 and the High Court that superseded it in 1862 by amalgamating the Supreme Court — the King's Court — and the Sudder and Foujdari Adawlut Courts — The Company's Courts, their duplicate jurisdiction having caused in the past no little trouble and made the judicial system unnecessarily complicated.

In the High Court each of the Judges has, since 1862 upto date, had a Chobdar carrying a silver gilt mace before him when he comes to and returns from Court. Until 1947 the Chief Justice had the distinction of having two chobdars and two silver-gilt maces. Just at the time when Sir Frederick Gentle assumed office that year one Chobdar was cut out as a measure of retrenchment. The silver-gilt mace is peculiar only to the Madras High Court. The High Courts at Bombay and Calcutta do not have silver-gilt maces carried before the Judges.

By the Letters Patents of 1726 and 1753 the Governor and Council was constituted a Government Court of Record to which appeals were provided for from the decisions of the Mayor's Court. In causes involving sums under 1000 pagodas the decision of the Government Court was final; if the sum involved was over that amount an appeal lay to the King in Council. The Government Court was further constituted a Court of Oyer and Terminer and was authorised and required to hold Quarter Sessions for the trial of all offences excepting high treason. The Recorder's Court that superseded the Mayor's Court in 1798 consisted of the Mayor, three Aldermen and a Recorder, being in fact the old Mayor's Court with the addition of a Recorder to that Court, who was to be appointed by the Crown. It had civil, criminal, ecclesiastical and admiralty jurisdiction (History and Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India by H. Cowell, pp. 15 and pp. 153-154). As such the Recorder's Court was also a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and Admiralty with powers to try all misdemeanours including murder. Only it had to reprieve execution of any Capital sentence until the King's pleasure be known for cases may arise wherein it may be proper to remit the general severity of the law. In 1801 this Court was superseded by the Supreme Court established under the Letters Patent issued on the 26th day of December 1800 consisting of a Chief Justice and two puisne justices to be appointed by the Crown and they should be Barristers of England or Ireland of not less than five years' standing. This Court, among other jurisdictions, had also the criminal jurisdiction as the Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery to try all cases of Treasons, Murders and other Felonies, Forgeries, Perjuries, Trespasses and Crimes and Misdemeanours. And this jurisdiction has been drafted on to the present High Court along with others in 1862. In exercise of the Original Criminal Jurisdiction so conferred by the Charter of 1862 and the amended charter of 1865, the High Court holds the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and Admiralty. Act X of 1875 lays down the procedure to be followed in the exercise of this jurisdiction by the High Court. Order XLVI Rule 7 (Crown Side Rules) lays down that the Criminal Sessions shall commence on the first Monday in February, April, August and November unless such day shall be a holiday in which case they shall commence on the Court day next succeeding and the Court shall sit daily (Sundays and close holidays excepted) unless the presiding Judge otherwise directs.

Under Section 5 of Act X of 1875, the Chief Justice issues through the Clerk of the Crown a precept to the Sheriff to proclaim and give notice that a Sessions will be held on the particular date. The Sheriff issues the proclamation in the following form and it is published in the Fort St. George Gazette.

PROCLAMATION

MADRAS TO WIT

By virtue of a Precept to me directed by the High Court of Judicature at Madras I hereby proclaim and give notice that a Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery in and for Fort Saint George the Town of Madras and the local limits thereof and the places and factories subordinate thereto will be holden at the Court House of the Court at Madras aforesaid on (such and such a date) ensuing the date hereof, at 10-45 A.M. for the trial of all crimes and offences done or committed within Fort St. George or the Town of Madras at the local limits thereof and places and factories subordinate thereto and dependent thereon.

And also that at the same time and place will be holden a Session of Admiralty for the trial of all crimes and offences done or committed on the High Seas.

And I hereby require and enjoin all persons bound to prosecute and give evidence at the above Sessions or in any wise concerned therein to attend at the time and place abovementioned and not depart without leave.

Dated this day of 195 .

Sheriff of Madras.

This form is as old as the days of the East India Company as may be found from the use of the words "places and factories" in the form. Charges against Europeans in Coorg and Bangalore were tried in Madras and they came under "the places" contained in it. The words "The Court House of the Court at Madras" are also a survival of the old days. "Fort St. George or the Town of Madras" is yet another indication. Is not Madras even now a City?

It is in pursuance of this precept that the Sheriff issues the Proclamation giving notice of the Sessions to be held and summons the members of the Jury to be present for the particular Sessions under his own seal: the Seal of the "Sheriff of Madraspatnam" in use upto date since 1745.

When the procession reaches the Court Hall "Silence" is proclaimed. The Judge stands in the middle on the Dais, the Sheriff on the right and the Commissioner of Police on the left; while the Court stands the Court Crier make this proclamation:

"Oyez! Oyez! Oyez!

All persons having business with my Lord the King's justice in this Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, General Gaol Delivery and Admiralty, in the City of Madras will now give their attention when they will be heard. God save the King and My Lord the King's Justice". The words 'Emperor of India' which were there after the words 'The King' were deleted after the 15th August 1947. The words 'the king' and 'the king's' have been deleted after the inauguration of the Indian Republic on January 26, 1950. These have been carried out in both the opening and closing proclamations. The last sentence reads: God save my Lord Justice.

This done the Judge takes his seat; so do the Sheriff and the Commissioner of Police, after which the members of the Bar and those present in Court take their seats.

Behind the massive Judge's chair, on the top of which was the Royal Crown carved, the Royal Coat of Arms was painted on the wall of the Sessions Court. One could read therein these words:

Honi Soit Qui Maly Pense

(Shame be to him who thinks ill of it)

AND

Dieu Et Mon Droit (God and my right).

Verily the Judge was the King's Justice.

The Royal Crown on the chair has been removed. The Coat of Arms painted on the wall has been effaced.

With the Judge's leave the Clerk of the Crown (now the Clerk of the State) reads the indictment to the accused. If he pleads guilty he is sentenced by the Court under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code having regard to the previous convictions, if any. If the accused pleads not guilty a jury is empanelled for his trial. Under section 275 of the Code of Criminal Procedure the accused has the right to ask for a majority if practicable of Europeans or Indians according as he is a European or an Indian. Under Section 277 he has the right to challenge eight jurors peremptorily and as many as he could show good cause for objecting to. After the nine jurors are chosen and empanelled — before Act X of 1875 it was twelve — they are sworn in. Then the Crown (State) Prosecutor opens the case, that is, reads the section or sections of the Indian Penal Code under which the accused is charged and states the facts of the case and then calls in the evidence for the prosecution. After the case for the prosecution is closed the Judge questions the accused under section 342 of the Criminal Procedure Code and records the statement of the accused, after which the witnesses for the defence, if any, are examined. Unless Counsel for Defence deem it highly expedient, they avoid putting in defence witnesses because the procedure lays down that where the accused does not call any evidence he has the advantage of having the last word. The idea is that the side that closes the case last should begin to address first. Then the Judge delivers the Charge to the Jury, with the direction that they should get a considered and as far as possible a unanimous verdict. That concluded the Jury retire to consider the verdict and are conducted for the purpose by a Bailiff of the Court, to whom the Clerk of the State administers the following Oath before he conducts them to the Jury Room.

"You swear that you will well and truly keep the Jury without meat or drink, that you will not allow any person to speak to them nor speak to them yourself unless it be as to their Verdict. So help you God".

They are not permitted to separate until they have returned their verdict or have been discharged for failure to agree. When the Jury are ready with their Verdict the Bailiff conducts them back to the Jury Box and as he enters the Court Hall he announces in a loud voice: "A Verdict". That duty is cast upon him in the Book of Instructions sent along with the Charter of 1726.

Then the Foreman of the Jury stands up and answers the following questions put by the Clerk of the State.

Q. Gentlemen! Are you are agreed about your verdict ?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you unanimous ?

A. Yes or No.

Q. If divided, how divided ?

A. 5 to 4, 6 to 3, 7 to 2 or 8 to 1.

Q. Do you find the accused guilty or not guilty ?

A. Guilty or Not Guilty.

If Guilty the accused is convicted and sentenced. If Not Guilty he is acquitted and set at liberty. When the Jury is divided five to four, under Section 305 of the Criminal Procedure Code the Judge discharges the Jury and orders a de novo trial or directs that no fresh trial is necessary and discharges the accused. This he does having regard to the particular circumstances of each case.

After all the cases in the Calendar for the particular Sessions are over, that is, at the conclusion of the Sessions, The Court Crier proclaims silence and every one present in Court including the Judge stand and then the Court Crier makes this proclamation :

"OYEZ ! OYEZ ! OYEZ !

All persons having had business with my Lord Justice in this Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and Admiralty in the City of Madras, will now depart, the Sessions having terminated. God save My Lord Justice ".

Then the Red Judge bows low and retires and we do not meet him with the pageantry and pomp until the next Quarter Sessions.

One other function with which the Red Judge is associated is the occasion when he is presented with a pair of white gloves by the Sheriff. It is an ancient custom of the English constitution. In England white gloves are presented to the judges on the occasion of a Maiden Assize. A Maiden Assize formerly meant one at which there are no cases for trial. In the High Court of Judicature at Madras no occasion has arisen for presentation of white gloves but instances have occurred in the District Courts, the Sessions there being monthly ones.

The Red Judge presides over the Admiralty Sessions. When the Vice-Admiralty Court was constituted in 1808 under a Special Charter appointing Sir T. A. Strange, Chief Justice, as Commissary of that Court for trial of causes Maritime, drawings of the Seal and Silver Oar of the Vice Admiralty Court at Ceylon were got on September 13, 1808 (MSS. Correspondence: Supreme Court 1808-1811, pp. 29-30) and a silver oar and seal prepared for the use of the Court. The silver oar was to be carried before the Commissary of that Court and placed on the table of the Court during the trial of admiralty causes. There is in the Sheriff's office a silver Oar even to this day. No occasion has, within living memory, arisen for taking it out for use.

When the Supreme Court was established at Madras in 1801 Sir T. A. Strange, Chief Justice, and the two puisne justices had come to the determination of wearing wigs, in addition to the costume which, in everything but the wig was the ordinary judicial dress. In Bombay, in spite of the hot climate and the ill-health occasioned to the Judges by the wearing of the wigs, the judges continued to put on their wigs. "In Calcutta where the climate is much hotter, each Judge has his wig, and it was the duty of the Court to preserve its dignity by the exterior observances of the bench, of which the wig had always been deemed an essential part". The reasoning of the Chief Justice was conclusive with his brethren. Orders were placed for the supply of wigs with Messrs. Ede and Ravenscroft & Co., London and they in due course arrived, all carefully packed in boxes after a long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. Unluckily the cockroaches had found their way into the wig-box of Sir Thomas Strange, Chief Justice, and fed, much to their satisfaction, upon each side of it. Unfortunately after the Judges had seated themselves, each with his new wig, the holes gnawed by the voracious insects began to make way for Sir Thomas' ears, which, in a few minutes, were visible through them. The laughter that ran through the Court having attracted his attention to the circumstances that afforded so much amusement — in a moment off went the wig indignantly over the heads of the Prothonotary and his Clerks, upon the area of the Court. The example of the Chief Justice was instantly followed by the other Judges, and, one by one, like a leash of partridges, the three wigs flew across and lighted on the floor. This ludicrous circumstance so completely unhinged Sir Thomas that he adjourned the Court till the following day, for it was found impossible to hush the merriment it occasioned. (Asiatic Journal New Series, Vol. XV, Part I, pp. 175-176). From that time the Judges have remained unbobbed until Sir Lionel Leach ruled in 1937 in the procedure laid down for the taking of the Oath of office of a Judge in open Court that the dress will be scarlet gown with full bottom wig or turban and white bands and white gloves and black cap should be carried. The Court constituted for the purpose with Judges in their red robes was a sight to see. The practice of swearing in judges in open Court came to an end with his term of office which ended in 1947.

Ceremony has its uses. It is one of the necessary amenities of orderly social life. It is even a strong support for the constitution (In Court and out of Court by E. B. Rowlands, p. 285). 'Apparayle may be wel a parte of maiestie.' That robes and wigs lend a certain dignity to the Bench and the Bar has been acknowledged even by American jurists like Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate. One of these gentlemen has left on record his opinion that "the advantages arising from the use of a distinct costume by judges and counsel in its effect on the public who are in Court and the feeling of responsibility it produces in the wearer, so far outweigh its disadvantages, if it have any, in the shape of personal discomfort". Two decades ago it was prophesied that, judicial robes having long since been adopted by the judges of the Supreme Court at Washington, the custom may in time spread to the whole of America. Whether they will be continued or discarded in India remains to be seen.

Reviews

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB, 1846 - 1849, (A Historical Revision) by Jagmohan Mahajan, Kitabistan - Allahabad and Karachi, 1949, pp. 136.

This inside view of the British process of writing off the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab from the face of India gives fresh details hitherto untapped, particularly from the Currie Correspondence preserved in the Museum of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute. After an introductory survey of the nightmare of anarchy and confusion which intervened between the deposition of Kharak Singh in October 1839, and the crossing of the Sutlej by the Khalsa army in December 1845, in the course of which the British anxiety to provoke a conflict is well portrayed and the treachery of Raja Lal Singh is depicted clearly as revealed from contemporary records and letters, the Treaty of Lahore of March, 5, 1846 and the supplementary articles of March, 11, are shown to be the outcome of a move to territorially mutilate, militarily enfeeble and financially cripple the Sikh Durbar whose impotence was soon demonstrated in the so-called Cow Row of the following month.

The inwardness of Shaikh Imamu'd-din's resistance in Kashmir leading to the deposition of Lal Singh and the background of the Treaty of Bhyrowal (December 1846) are next dealt with, disclosing the "Machiavellian duplicity" of Lord Hardinge and the accommodating pliancy of Currie and the effort made to secure, in name, the voluntary request of the Sardars for the continuance and strengthening of British control, which was heightened by the thinly justified segregation of Maharani Jindan.

Chapter V clearly proves that there was not the least evidence to connect Mulraj with the first attack on or the subsequent murder of Agnew and Anderson. From his letters (*e.g.*, to Sir George Couper of May, 10, 1848) Dalhousie is known to have consciously allowed time for the Multan outbreak to develop into a national rebellion which would justify him in annexing the Punjab after a war and in time demanding a heavy reparation for an originally small injury. Dalhousie thus wrote to Henry Lawrence on October, 15, 1848 :—"The task before me is the utter destruction and prostration of the Sikh power, the subversion of its dynasty and the subjection of its people. This must be done promptly, fully and finally."

Thus the long interval between the first outbreak at Multan and the siege of its citadel was marked by many high-handed and extremely unpopular acts of British representatives in the Panjab which brought about the revolts of Chatar Singh and Sher Singh which were held to justify a war of extirpation, and by a twist of both logic and fact, deemed to have brought about a direct state of war between the Lahore Durbar under the British Resident and the British Government and a dissolution of all existing engagements. Sher Singh's suppression was deemed to justify the British power in its decision to depose the ruler and annex the kingdom of the Panjab. In his justification of annexation to the Secret Committee, Dalhousie could not prove any definite charge or act of treason against the Lahore Durbar except a flimsy charge of inability to pay the stipulated subsidy in time. Thus was subverted a state which was protected and administered by the British power under a treaty which it had dictated, by a war which began as a suppression of rebellion against constituted authority and ended by wholesale spoliation. This narrative of Mr. Mahajan helps effectively in the knocking out of the basis of the hitherto accepted official version of the conquest of the Panjab that" a combination of circumstance and destiny "enabled the British to step into the vacuum created by the death of Ranjit Singh."

—*C. S. S.*

Indian Records Series (General Editor, S. N. Sen), INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT AND CARERI,—being the Third Part of the Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Edited by *Surendranath Sen,* Director of Archives, Government of India, Published by the National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, pp. LXIV and 434.

The learned author who has revived the Indian Records Series and is its General Editor, has first taken up, "The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri," as being of undoubted value as raw material for the social and economic history of seventeenth century India. The textual matter is available in early English versions which have been carefully compared with the original French and Italian texts. In the Introduction, Dr. Sen gives an accurate and critical estimate of the historical value of the material left by the many European travellers in India from Duarte Barbosa. Thevenot was inspired by his scholarly uncle in his taste for strange lands and languages, and was conversant with

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Arabic. Turkish and Persian and was insatiable in his love of travel, despite its discomfort and rigours. His *Voyages,* of which the part relating to Hindustan was first published in 1684 and first rendered into English 3 years later, has a particular value for Indian culture on account of the interest displayed by the author in Indian flora and fauna, among other things. Careri's Volumes were first published at Naples in 1697 - 1700 and first made known to Englishmen in Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704). The charge of Careri not having travelled at all, but having only pirated from previous travellers is given the lie by Dr. Sen, who says that his detailed description of Kanheri and account of Aurangzib's camp at Galgala in March 1695, should constitute sufficient proofs of the genuineness of his travels and observations. Of course the caution is given that sometimes these two travellers did not rise above the credulity of their age and were not adequately informed about the geography of India. Thevenot tried to give in his account of the Mughal provinces, notes and observations on the curiosities about the respective regions and the habits of their peoples and inadvertently repeated some of the mistakes of his predecessors, particularly Bernier and Tavernier.

Careri has given a graphic and detailed account of Goa. Thevenot's notice of Indian animals like the musk-deer and the elephant, and Careri's description of the "fruits and flowers of Indostan" are worthy of study, though they contain marks of errors of observation and of unreliable hearsay. The Editor has pointed out that these travellers did not and could not pick out the hgiher teachings of Hinduism, "in the interminable mazes of the polytheistic practices and primitive cults" of popular religion. But their evidence is valuable as and when they record their personal experiences; and the reader is cautioned to judge of their accounts as to the security of travellers and traders by a relative comparison with the conditions prevailing in contemporary Europe. Their limitations and merits are indicated on p. LXIV of the Introduction, and their value is thus critically summed up — this being generally true of all travellers: — "As a contemporary source of Indian History they will always remain indispensable, but what cannot be dispensed with is not necessarily infallible."

Palmyra and coconut liquor, absence of flax in the Indies, the Malabar or Tamil alphabet, and the bamboo (spelt Pambous) are but samples of the width and variety of topics dealt with by Thevenot; and all these are enriched with the exhaustive notes

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REFERENCE BOOK

of the editor whose accuracy is illustrated by such a one as Note 17, Ch. II, Book II of Thevenot. Careri's voyage to Goa and his description of it as well as his account of the Portuguese dominion in India and of the fruits and flowers of Indostan (Ch. VIII of his Book I) have been particularly exhaustively annotated as seen in the identification of the Omlām tree. The chapters devoted to the description of the Great Mughal, his camp, his wealth and his resources are interesting reading, even for the layman.

Thevenot's notice of Amir Jumla (Emir Gemla) has been duly corrected by the Editor with reference to the statement that the Fort of Guendicot put a full stop to his conquests. The Editor has very correctly identified the word *gazers* (small copper-pieces) currect in the Carnatic with *cash (Kāsu)* 40 of which did really go to make a *panam.* Kāśu in old Tamil meant a coin and we have an adjective prefixed to it to indicate the particular variety noted (e.g., *pon-kāsu* = gold coin). Similarly valuable is the identification of Dacheron on the Northern Sarkars coast. Scores of such difficult points have been explained and the proper sources of information indicated for each one of them, in every one of the chapters containing the text matter. The Nicobar Islands (Chap. V, Book III of Careri) have been known to the Tamils as *Mā Nakkavāram.*

A norm which is satisfactory in every respect as to editing, annotation, introduction and general get-up has been furnished in this book which is to serve as the model for the labour of Indian scholars in this and similar series to be published by the National Archives.

—*C. S. S.*

BOOKS RECEIVED

Archaeology in India—Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi.

Explorations at Harad—Bharata Itihas Samshodhak Mandala, Poona.

Annual Report of the Bombay Secretariat Record Office for the year 1947-48—Government Central Press, Bombay.

Annual Report of the University of Travancore for 1124 M.E. (1948-49 A.D.)—University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

1. *Adyar Library Bulletin* — Besant Number, Vol. XIII, Part 3, 1st October, 1949.

   (a) *Liberation or Salvation,* by Annie Besant (from *The Theosophist*).

   (b) *Some Cultural Gleanings from the Jnanakanda of Kasyapasamhita,* by P. K. Gode. On *canaka* (*cicer arietinum*), one of the 17 grains, *tambula* (betel), *tulasi* (holy basil), beeswax moulding, 3 classes of pictures, deities to be worshipped, *pārada* (mercury), Romakas (=? Romans, or people of 'Rume', Constantinople ?, or of Urumiah in Persia ?), flowers to be used for worship, or avoided, many castes arising from five main castes. Kasyapadamhita "appears to be later than the first few centuries of the Christian era as it reveals a very advanced condition of Vaishnava religious worship and ritual." See 3 (b) infra.

2. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* — Annals of the. Vol. XXIX, 1948, pub. 1949.

   (a) *Traces of Short E and O in Rgveda,* by A. M. Ghatage. "Whether short or long *e* and *o* form the same phonemes (in the Rgvéda) .... If this is their real nature, it is easy to bring them in line with other cases of short and long vowels like *a* or *i,* which are found in R. V. Samhita".

   (b) *Juridical studies in Ancient Indian Law,* 14, Legal position of Physicians in Ancient India, by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach. "We do not find in Ancient Indian sources any demarcation line between the three categories of physicians — Cikitsaka, bhisaj, and Vaidya — although a vaidya was certainly the highest of all, while the word bhishaj was mostly used for the designation of a King's physician. Bhishaj and Cikitaska were used indiscriminately." Salyakrnta is another term for bhishaj.

   All physicians were at first highly esteemed and worshipped, and called Kaviraja = king among sages.

But Caraka (2nd cent.), Manu, and others regarded physicians as not worthy of high esteem.

(c) *Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics-Fried grains in Indian diet* between B.C. 500 and A.D. 1900, by P. K. Gode. Even *canaka* grain (harimantha of Susruta, Greek erebintos, linseed) was parched, and compressed into flakes (Prthuka).

The Hellenistic Greeks introduced the grain to the Punjab (B.C. 190 — ca A.D. 20). Laja (puffed grain, white like opened flowers) is formed by mere parching. A large number of articles of diet mentioned in Amara Kosa, Caraka, Arthasastra, Rajavinoda, Indu's Sasilekha, Mahabharata, etc., are listed by the author.

(d) *The movements of the Pandavas,* by V. B. Athavale. "The Varanavata town is the Barnava village, 10 miles to the east of Baraut, by a road. It is about 35 miles west of Hastinapura. Baraut is a Railway station, 30 miles from Delhi, on the Delhi-Sahranpur line". Hindan, crossed by them at night, is a big river meeting Jamuna (pp. 90-92.)

Ekacakra town in Kicaka (= Bamboo) territory, also called Vetrakiyapuri (Bamboo town) must be somewhere near modern Hamirpur, from which "the nearest point on the Ganges is 25 miles due east". That point may be the place Somasrayayanam, which they reached going "eastward and after walking the whole day and night," i.e. about 25 miles (pp. 94 to 96.)

Kampilya the capital of South Panchala, is modern Kampila Village near Kaimganj railway station on the B.B.C.I. Railway line between Mathura and Farukabad, (p. 98).

Bhargavayana is Bhargain Village, 6 miles west of Kampila; near Bhargain is the village Dhaumapura, which may have received the name from the sage Dhaumya, the purohita of the Pandavas. At Bhargain they stayed incognito, (p. 98).

(e) *Some notes on Almond in India,* A.D. 100-1900, by P. K. Gode. "So far I have not traced any references to

Vātāma in Sanskrit non-medical texts, early or late". Iran was the centre from which the almond spread to Europe, (p. 105). The Greeks derived it from Asia Minor, (p. 106). The botanical names are Amygdalus Communis and Prunis Amygdalus.

(f) *Parvata in Rig Veda,* by B. R. Sarma. Parvata "primarily means mountain or hill, which is metaphorically applied to the mass of darkness, and also to the dark massive cloud in Vedic Literature" (p. 118). In certain passages (I. 80·7; 168·6) adri (= Parvata) "stands for neither the massive darkness that pervades heaven during the long wintry nights in Arctic region, nor the darkness that surrounds the earth on all sides (p. 119), nor the dark cloud, but the mass of sun-rays which dissipates the darkness pervading the universe" (p. 121). In certain other passages parvata "represents the presiding Genius of mountains" (p. 122). In later Vedic literature the word means invariably the terrestrial mountain.

(g) *Regional Divisions of Ancient India,* by S. B. Chaudhuri. The celebrated River-Hymn of the Rigveda points to the region from the Panjab to the Ganges (p. 124). By the close of the Rgvedic period the Aryans had already been east of the Ganges and south of the Jumna (p. 128). Holy Brahmavarta lay between Saraswati and Drsadvati. Kurukshetra lay between the Sutlej and Jumna. Later the whole of India was divided into five disis, i.e. desas. The central Gangetic Doab of the Kurus, Pancalas, Vatsas and Usinaras, south of Sewalik range or the hills of Hardwar. The Northern division (Uttarāpatha) of Northern Kurus of Kashmir and Northern 'Madras' was perhaps the region beyond the Himalayas (p. 135). It seems the Aryans had little or no knowledge of the Western coastal regions till about 900 B.C. The Eastern division to the east of Prayaga (in Vatsa) had Samrats (Emperors) of Kosala, Kasi, Videha, and Magadha, and comprised the region from Benares to the farthest eastern limits of India (p. 145).

(h) *The image of Narayana,* by L. B. Keny (Illustrated). The representation of Siva was slowly Aryanised into Śēṣaśāyi (Vishnu). "We have ample reason to maintain that the so-called image of Anantaśayana (Vishnu on

Ananta Couch), without the Brahma rising from its navel, is the original representation of Siva (Narayana)" (p. 226).

(i) *Kampeshwar same as Kapeshwar,* by Y. K. Deshpande — correct identifications of Kampnagar, Kampeshwar and Ushnodak.

3. *Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society — Journal of the.* Vol. 23, 1947, published 1949.

(a) *Early Brahmins and Brahminism,* by D. D. Kosambi.

(b) *Saugor Plate of Trailokya Varman* (A.D. 1194-1212), by B. M. Barua and P. S. Chakravarti. The Copper-plate was found underground in 1943. Sana (*canaka,* flax) cultivation is mentioned; also gold, iron and salt deposits in Bundlekhand. See 1 (b) supra.

4. *Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society — Journal of the.* Vols. 24-25, 1948-49 (New Series), pub. November 1949.

(a) *Varahamihara* (fl. *A.D. 505*) *and Utpala* (fl. 966 A.D.): their works and predecessors, by P. V. Kane. Contains alphabetical list (with notes) of authors and works (Aryabhata to Yavaneswara) mentioned in the former's works, and another of authors and works (Balabhadra to Yajnavalkyasmriti) mentioned in Utpala's commentaries.

(b) *Chronological Order of Punch-Marked Coins*: a re-examination of the older Taxila hoard, by D. D. Kosambi. Two groups of 8 and 7 series each, from Ajatasatru to Chandragupta Maurya (8th), and Bindusara to Saṭadharman (7th). An equal-armed cross-like sign is found among those on Nandivardhana's coins, 5th from Ajatasatru, on plate.

(c) *Prosodical Practice of 28 Sanskrit poets,* ancient and medieval, from Asvaghosha (2nd cent. A.D.) to Rudrakavi (16th cent.), by H. D. Velankar.

(d) *Alankara-Tilaka* (continuation), by G. V. Devasthali.

(e) *The Avatara Syncretism and Possible Sources of Bh. Gita,* by D. D. Kosambi. "The gradual rise to pre-eminence of a substratum in the tradition which is hostile to the general tone of Vedic legend plays a leading part in the syncretism......This submerged portion of the tradition must have had some historical foundation, and therefore been retained, painful and humiliating though it was, in Brahmanical memory throughout the early period of Kṣatriya dominance" (p. 134).

5. *Ceylon University Review, Oct. 1949, Vol. VII, No 4.*

(a) *Titles of the Sinhalese Kings,* 3rd cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A. C., by Mr. C. W. Nicholas. Titles Maharajā, Raja, Devanapiya, Gamani, Ma Parumaka, and Apaya. Devanapiya (= Devanam Priya of Asoka) found in Ceylon from B.C. 247 to A.C. 19).

(b) *Palaeographical Development of the Brahmi Script in Ceylon* from 3rd cent. B.C. to 7th cent. A.D. by Mr. P. E. E. Pernando.

6. *India Quarterly, Vol. V, Oct. December, 1949, No. 4.*

(a) *The Indian Constitution,* by B. N. Rau.

(b) *American Public Opinion about Indian Politics* (1918-39), by Harnam Singh.

(c) *Industrialisation of India and Commonwealth Cooperation,* by Gyan Chand.

7. *Mythic Society — Quarterly Journal of the.* Vol. XXXIX, N. S., No. 1, July 1948.

(a) *Local Administration in South India,* by S. S. Santanam, M.A.. (Continuation). Public Health, and Public information and propaganda.

(b) *Aryan and Aboriginal Cultures of India,* with special reference to the Soras (Savaras). (Continuation), by Dr. G. V. Sitapati.

(c) *Evolution of the Yajnopavita* (Sacred Thread), (illustrated), by V. Raghavendra Rao.

(d) *Symbolism of the Above,* by S. Srikantaya (illustrated). Dikpālas, and goddesses too wore Yajnopavita.

8. *Venkateswara Oriental Institute — Journal of the Sri.* Vol. X, No. 1, Jan. — June, 1949.

(a) *Libraries in Ancient and Medieaval India,* by Sri N. Subramania Sastri.

(b) *Tiruvalluvar,* by Sri T. P. Palaniappa Pillai. Wrong notions about Tiruvalluvar corrected.

(c) *Nakkīrar Vākkum Nōkkum* (in Tamil) by Vidvan C. Venkateswara Chettiar.

— T. K. Joseph

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*, Bangalore.

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Lithic Monuments in Early South India *

BY

PROF. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR
University of Madras

To a student of ancient Indian archaeology South India offers a virgin field full of monuments, viz., caves and caverns. Some are the natural caves on hill sides and some are monolithic caves. The latter must have been posterior to the natural caves which were used in ancient times by monks of different denominations, Buddhist, Jain or Hindu. Expert archaeologists who have made a special study of the various examples of architecture scattered here and there in several parts of south India are prepared to concede an intermediary stage between the use of natural caves and monolithic ones. This was the period when caverns fit for human habitation were made in the natural ones by introducing necessary changes so as to make them fit for occupation and residence by the monks who always looked for places away from human habitation to spend their lives in penance and prayer. We meet with stone beds and other facilities for a monk to live in peace. Such caves and caverns have been discovered not only in the Tamil country but also in the Āndhradeśa. Some of them contain inscriptions of value to the antiquarian. The inscriptions discovered in these monuments are mostly in Pāli language and Brāhmi script thus signifying that they were very ancient monuments used by the monks in the centuries before the Christian era and some after.

South India is well known for its three traditional kingdoms, the Chera, Pāndya and Chola. The origin of these kingdoms is still a subject of speculation and no finality has been arrived at by scholars as to how they originated and developed. But one thing seems to be certain that the Pāṇḍyan country which comprised originally broadly the three districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly seem to have been the most powerful kingdom of the Tamil country. This is testified to us by the evidence of Megasthenes who was a Greek ambassador in the court of Pāṭaliputra in the fourth century B.C. Our ancient epics which contain a kernel of historical truth viz., the Mahābhārata and the

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* Paper submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949.

Rāmāyaṇa refer in unequivocal terms to the country of the Pāṇḍyas where pearl-fisheries were a speciality. Thus it transpires on the strength of this testimony that the Pāndyan kingdom was in a flourishing condition even at least four or five centuries before the Christian era. Of the three Tamil kingdoms of which mention has been already made the Pāṇḍyan country deserves special attention for our purpose for we meet with these early lithic monuments in the shape of caves and caverns in the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly and particularly in the district of Madura. This demonstrates palpably the fact that original culture and civilization in the Tamil Nadu perhaps began here in this district unless it is assumed that it was by mere accident we see notices of early life in this part of the Tamil country.

MADURA DISTRICT

The Ānamalais near Madura afford an interesting study and it was the Government Epigraphist who discovered a cavern at this place containing an inscription in Pāli. Not far from this place was found a natural cave which goes by the popular name Pañchpāṇḍavar Paḍukkai which can be literally rendered as the bed of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. If one would examine the inner portions of the cavern one is surprised to find three double beds and one single bed. Almost contiguous to the above are four other beds. Outside the cavern one notices also a set of eight beds but these eight beds are in the open. The dimensions of the beds when examined were from about six to seven feet long and one and one-fourth to nearly two feet broad. One portion of the bed was on a high level which shows that it was the resting place for the head serving as a pillow. On the top of the rock overhanging the entrance to the cavern is an inscription in Pāli which consists of only two lines.[1]

In the Melur taluq there is a village by name Ariṭṭapaṭṭi on the way to Aḻagarkoil. In that village there is a small hill called Kaḻugumalai. This Kaḻugumalai is interesting in that it possesses four caverns provided with beds and containing inscriptions. A close examination of these beds shows that they are bigger in size than those seen at Ānamalai. The script of the inscriptions themselves resembles the Aśokan characters and may be assigned to a date immediately following that of Aśoka. Most of them are in Pāli character and throw side light on the origin and growth of not only the Tamil language but also Vaṭṭeḻettu alphabets. If one closely examines the examples of architecture found in the Tamil country one has to come to the conclusion that these caverns at Ariṭṭapaṭṭi are perhaps the earliest lithic monuments ever discovered in Tamil land. In his *Buddhistic cave temple* Dr. Burgess made the remark in another connection that the stone beds in the early caverns and caves in most part of India must have been the abode of monks, chiefly the Buddhist monks. This view has been adopted by the epigraphist as he has come to the conclusion that originally it was the Buddhist monks who occupied these caves and caverns in early times in the Tamil country. This may or may not be true. We are sceptical about the conclusion on one or two grounds. In the first place we search in vain for any Buddhist remains in the Indian caverns, while there are remains in the Buddhist caverns in Ceylon. Secondly, whatever may be the fact regarding the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country, with the paucity of Buddhist monuments and the preponderating influence of the 'Deva' temples in the words of Hiuen-Tsang together with the scanty references in early Tamil literature one has difficulties in the way of accepting them as Buddhist caverns. On the other hand they suggest the possibility of their having been used by Jaina ascetics and Hindu sanyāsins. Thirdly, this is rendered more difficult by the mention of the Pañcha Pāndava beds to which we have already referred. Students of Indian history know that neither the Buddhist nor the Jains had anything to do with the Pañchapāṇḍavar or simply 'Pañcavir'.

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[1] Vide Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1906-7, pp. 46-7.

In a place called Muttupatti in Madura taluq there is a spot which even now is called Pañchapāṇḍavar paḍukkai. Of course near the spot there is a Jaina image seated on a pedestal. This may probably point out that when once the Paṇḍava tradition was there the Jains thought it worth while to establish their image in such places. The Pañchapāṇḍava tradition and the Brahmi inscriptions are found scattered over the length and breadth of Madura district. It may be that the Buddhist monks like their brethren, the Jainas, retired to these caves and caverns perhaps to keep *vassa*.[2]

Again there is a place called Kongarpuliyangulam in the Madura district about nine miles south-west of Madura. Down the hill in that place we meet with the image of a Jaina saint in Siddhāsana posture. The inscription down below is in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and reads that it is the image of the well-known Jaina teacher Ajjaṇḍi. Though it can be accepted without question that Ajjaṇḍi was a Jaina teacher of repute it is difficult to accept that the cave was an early Jain one. The inscription being Vaṭṭeḷuttu is itself an evidence to show that the cave in question may not be very ancient. The same view may be taken of the set of beds in a natural cave at Settippodava near Kilakkudi, again in the Madura district. This contains some vestiges of Jaina occupation. The epigraphist seems to think that this place, whether it be a temple or hermitage was presided over by the well-known teacher Guṇasenaperaḍigal. The very name of the teacher and the very nature of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions found therein must show beyond doubt that this lithic monument is not a very ancient one. Perhaps the sculptures in niches with representations of female warrior or lion vehicle may point out that it was one of the sacred spots of Durgā who was worshipped by the Hindus.

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[2] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1909-10, pp. 66-7.

Proceeding to another post in the same hill known as Pechipallam one comes across with evidences of Jaina sculptures with a canopy of five-headed serpents. They may perhaps be identified with the seventh Tīrthankara Suparsva (IA. Vol. 32, p. 461). The inscriptions found in these places are also in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and there is an interesting reference to the mother of the Jaina sage Ajjanaṇḍi. There is further a reference to Guṇasenadeva, the famous teacher of whom mention has been made in connection with the cave Settipodava. This is not all. There is a place called Kilapalava. In proximity to this stands the Pañchpāṇḍavar hill but what interests us is the existence of various Jaina figures some seated and others standing. There are attendant deities, chowry-bearers and others affording interest to the antiquarian. There is evidence to show that the particular spot was sacred to Jaina and provision was made for daily worship. Again, we find that Vaṭṭeḻettu inscriptions predominate. There are also one or two Brāhmi inscriptions which can easily point to the antiquity of the place later on occupied by the Jains.

On the hill at Kunnakkudi we find a number of interesting stone beds. Though the place is now converted into a building full of mendicants devoted to one Jñāniyār and though there are evidences of the Hindu cult prevailing still from a damaged Brahmi inscription in the boulder, the whole spot breathes an air of antiquity and must be interesting to a student of cave architecture in the Tamilnād. In the same way we have to treat of the several Brāhmi inscriptions which we meet with at Aḻagarmalai. Here also one finds some figures of Jaina which goes to confirm our view that the Jaina occupation of the place was much later (*Ibid.* pp. 67-70).

While we are speaking about caverns in Madura, mention may be made of the cavern at the village of Mettupatti near Nilakkottai in the same district. The rural local tradition connects it with Pañchapāñḍavas and one curious feature about the spot is that it is known as Pañchapāṇḍavapādam, lit. the feet of the five Pāṇḍavas. The famous hill in this place is Siddhamalai where there is a big cavern and five beds are cut in a sloping rock. There we notice one line in Brāhmi writing. This shows the ancientness of the beds and also the cavern. We meet with the same condition in another place about three furlongs south of Varichhiur. Though the beds here show signs of having been meddled with in later times, what interests the student of history is the Brāhmi inscription. The original Brāhmi inscription here is not very clear as it has been mutilated. But two words have been read and they are 'Anātai Ariya'. It has been taken to mean anatai — living and Ariya is perhaps the Buddhist saint Ariyana. But we doubt the correctness of this interpretation which may also mean the arya who was helpless. The term arya under reference may or may not be one of the Buddhist faith. It is also possible that the cave served the purpose of a shelter for the homeless and the destitute.[3]

TINNEVELLY

Besides the many lithic monuments discovered in the Madura district, caves and caverns were brought to the notice of the archaeologist in some other parts of the Tamil land. For instance, we come across a natural cave which is in the village of Marugaltalai some ten miles from Palamcottah in the present Tinnevelly district. The hill in this place is named Puvil Udaiyarmalai. In that hill in the midst of a cluster of shrines devoted to one deity or other, a natural cave with overhanging rocks is found chiselled to a length of about ten yards. Here we find a Pāli inscription whose characters roughly approximate to the Aśokan edicts. No doubt the beds which we find in them are very old and must have been used in ancient times.[4]

A similar cavern was found on a hill at Vīraśikhāmaṇi about eight miles from Sankaranayanārkoil. This cave also tells the same tale and the local tradition is strong in connecting it with Panchapāṇḍavas. It is even believed that the figures of the Pāṇḍavas are cut in it. Close to this is a cave with some beds damaged. One also finds a mutilated inscription in Grantha. The absence of Brāhmi inscriptions in this cavern shows that it must have been a later cave.[5]

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[3] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1907-8, pp. 46-7.
[4] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1906-7, p. 46.
[5] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1907-8, p. 46.

These two districts of Madura and Tinnevelly are thus very important from the point of view of cave architecture. They afford rich food to the curious antiquarian who is eager to know something about the very early history of architecture in south India. While some of the inscriptions underneath the beds found in different caves and caverns contain the Brāhmi script, the rest contain inscriptions in Vaṭṭeluttu characters. The synchronism of caves with Bhāhmi inscriptions has made scholars believe that originally Buddhist mendicants might have been their occupants. The caves containing Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters must have been occupied by the Jaina monks who were in point of chronology later than the Buddhist mendicants. Though this may be true to a certain extent, it is difficult to accept the proposition that these caverns were intended to be fit for occupation only by recluses from the Jaina or Buddha fold. One fails to understand why the possibility of Hindu mendicants occupying these caverns should not be thought of. It is said in the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki that Hanumān saw in the Malay Parvata many caves which were the abode of *muniganas* among others. Undoubtedly these *muniganas* were those Hindu monks who preferred the solitary life with all its charms (Yuddha, Ch. 74, VV, 41-45.) Some of the antiquities with which we are concerned contain the tradition of Panchapāṇḍava beds in most of the places. The fact that a Hindu sanyāsin has occupied this cave for his *yoganishṭa* at Aḻagarmalai lends support to this view. Whatever this may be, one need not doubt about the antiquity of these structures and their varied interest.[6]

PUDUKKOTTAH

At a distance of four furlongs from the village of Śittannavasal is noticed a cavern in the midst of a hill which is almost inaccessible. In this cavern are noticed stone beds with one end raised. These beds were intended for one to lie down. In the midst of some damaged beds one finds curiously a Brāhmi inscription which is difficult to interpret. Perhaps some are the names of mendicants who lived in these caves. Nothing more is known of them.[7]

TRICHINOPOLY

In the Trichinopoly district, at some distance from the Kulittalai railway station there is a boulder which is nearly 30 ft. in height being unique in itself. On one side is a square entabla-

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6. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1908-9, pp. 67-69.
7. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1914-15, p. 86.

ture chair which is said to represent a Jain Tīrthankara. It is rather doubtful whether it is a representation of a Jain Tīrthankara but what interests us is that at its bottom on the rock there are five beds well known to the locality as Pāṇḍavar Paḍukkai. Very near to this there are three inscriptions which are in archaic Tamil. A careful reading of these inscriptions reveals two names (1) Siyamitran and (2) Vīramallan. Though these are Tamil names the epigraphist regards them as Buddhist or Jaina names without proper evidence. It is, however, interesting that we have caves and beds in the Trichinopoly district.[8]

CONCLUSION

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer who has made an elaborate study of the inscriptions in these cave monuments believes that the scripts of the epigraphs resemble the characters of Ceylon cave records on the one hand and the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet on the other. He also notes the orthographical peculiarities of these records and believes that they have the characteristic features which are regarded as peculiar to Tamil. He remarks that in the Tamil country the inscriptions were meant to be understood by those who spoke the language and the language was Tamil. He has put the alphabet to a critical analysis and has shown quite a number of examples of Tamil suffixes.[9] Confirming this position of the language of the inscribed pot-shreds bearing garaffite at Arikameḍu in Pondicherry Dr. N. P. Chakravarti comments as follows:— "The script of the Arikameḍu pottery and the early rock shelters of the Madura and Tinnevelly districts seems to be more akin to the ancient Drāviḍi script than the regular Brāhmi as found in the edicts of Aśoka and other early inscriptions. We also know that the Drāviḍi script must have separated from the main stock of Brāhmi much earlier than the time of Aśoka, at the latest in the 5th century B.C. (Bühler: *Indian Paleography,* Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 8). This is undoubtedly the reason why so many archaic forms are noticed in the few inscriptions so far known in the Drāviḍi script. The development of forms after separation would not be so fast in Drāviḍi as in the regular Brāhmi which continued to be used throughout the whole of India".[10] We find no difficulty in accepting this position as regards the script and language of these cave records which in our opinion were in active use at least in the first five centuries before the Christian era.

[8] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1912-13, p. 84.
[9] Proc. of the Third Or. Conference, pp. 275-300.
[10] *Ancient India,* No. 2, July 1946, p. 109.

Some Ancient Indian Minor States

(FROM ALEXANDER'S TIME TO 300 A.D.)

BY

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The Aspasians: The Iranian name "Aspa" corresponds to Sanskrit "Aśva" or "Aśvaka". The people called Aspasians by the Greeks may, therefore, be regarded as denoting some western branch of the well-known Aśvaka or Aśmaka tribe.[1] One of the cities of the Aspasian territory is said to have stood on or near the river Euaspla which is supposed to be identical with the Kūnar, a tributary of the Kabul. Besides this we find mention of some other cities like Andaka and Arigaeun.[2]

Ptolemy refers to Aspakarai with a place of the same name Aspakara. The form of the name connects it with the Sanskrit or Iranian nomenclature. It is doubtful whether they have got any connection with the Aspasiai who are the Aśvaka.[3]

The Assakenians: The Assakenians correspond to Sanskrit Aśvakas or Aśmakas. Their country lay in Eastern Afghanistan.[4] According to some it was situated in Suvāstu (modern Swat Valley).[5] The people are referred to as Assakenoi by Greek writers. The capital town is called Massaga or Maśakāvatī. It was the kingdom of a ruler called Assakenos. Śarabha, a king of the Aśmakas, figures large in Bāṇa's account. The Assakenian king, according to Greek writers, is said to have a large army consisting of more than 30,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry and 30 elephants.[6] The Aśmakas were the first Indian people to bear the brunt of Alexander's invasion. Massaga,[7] the Assakenian stronghold, was stormed by the troops of Alexander. When the town capitulated, a large number of mercenary troops who were assembled there, agreed to join the army of Alexander. The mercenaries who were unwilling to help the foreigner, wanted to evade the obligation. At night they secretly planned to escape. At this the Macedonians spared none of them to live till morning.[8] The king of this place was in alliance with the king of the Abhisāra country beyond the Indus,[9] who sent contingents for his help. Assakenos the king personally took the command and fell fighting at Massaga.[10]

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[1] Strabo (Mss. XV. C. 691; C. 698) calls the Aspasioi Hypasioi which is given as Hippasioi in modern texts. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 352, n. 3.

[2] Chinnock, Arrian's *Anabasis,* pp. 230-31.

[3] *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy,* S. N. Majumdar, ed., p. 304.

[4] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India,* p. 180.

[5] Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.,* p. 197.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 197.

In the Epics[11] and the Purāṇas,[12] the Aśmakas or Assakas are mentioned as a Kṣatriya tribe. Pāṇini refers to the Aśmakas in one of his *sūtras* (IV, I, 178). They are placed in the north-west by the author of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also places them in the north-west. It seems likely that a branch of the tribe settled later on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Deccan. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) and the Purāṇas[13] count Assaka among the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* of Jambudīpa (India). The Mahāgovinda Suttanta[14] mentions Potana (Paudanya of the Great Epic) as the (capital) city of the southern Assakas. In the Suttanipāta (verses 976-77) the Assaka country is associated with Mūlaka with its capital Patiṭṭhāna (Paiṭhān) and is located on the southern bank of the Godāvarī. Rhys Davids argues that the country is mentioned with Avantī in the same way as Aṅgā is associated with Magadha and the occurrence of its name between Surasena and Avantī shows that when the list of sixteen Mahājanapadas was drawn up, Assaka was situated immediately north-west of Avantī.[15]

[7] It was the seat of the sovereign power which controlled the whole realm. Curtius says that it was defended by a rapid river in its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander it held out for four days against all his assaults. (*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 184).

[8] *Arrian*, IV, 27; *Diod*, XVII, 84; *Curtius*, VIII, 10; *Plut. Alex.*, p. 59; *Polyaen, Strateg*, IV, 3.20.

[9] According to Strabo (H. & F.'s Trans. III, 90) it was situated among the mountains above the Taxila country.

[10] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 353.

[11] *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 9, p. 822; Jayadrathavadhaparva, VII, 85, 3049; *Ibid.*, VII, 37, 1605; *Ibid.*, VII, 37, 1606; *Ibid.*, VII, 37, 1608; *Ibid.*, VIII, 8, 237; Ādiparva, 1, 122, 4737; *Ibid.*, I, 177, 6791.

[12] *Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa*, Ch. 9; *Matsyapurāṇa*, Ch. 272.

[13] *Padma Purāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa, Ch. III; *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa*, Ch. IX.

[14] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 235.

[15] *Buddhist India*, pp. 27-28.

The *Yaunas* (Poli Yonas) literally 'Ionians', a people or peoples of Greek descent, may be traced in Indian literature and inscriptions[16] from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D. They find mention as a ruling people also in the Achaemenian inscriptions. They were manifestly a factor of no small importance in the political history of northern and western India.[17]

As we read in the *Mahābhārata* they took the side of the Kauravas in the Kurukṣetra war along with other tribes of north-western India like the Kāmbojas, Śakas, Madras, Kaikeyas, Sindhus and Sauvīras.[18] The Yavanas (Greeks) were the most esteemed of foreigners but all the Yavanas were regarded as sprung from Śūdra females and Kṣatriya males.[19] The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 54, 21) refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Śakas and Yavanas.[20] In the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa (IV, 43, 11-12), Sugrīva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Śakas between the countries of the Kurus and the Madras and the Himalayas. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207, 43) the Yaunas are classed with other peoples of *Uttarāpatha* or Northern India like the Kāmbojas, Gandharas, Kirātas and Barbaras.[21] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also we find a list of peoples where they are grouped with some other peoples of northern or north-western India like the Gāndhāras, Sindhu-Sauvīras and Madrakas.[22] The *Milinda Pañho* refers to the land of the Yonas as the place fit for the attainment of nibhāna.[23] The *Mahāvastu* speaks of the assembly of the Yonas where anything which was decided, was binding on them.[24] D. R. Bhandarkar[25] observes that there is nothing strange in Pāṇini flourishing in the sixth century B.C. and in his referring also to Yavanānī, the writing of the Greeks. The evidence furnished by Arrian's account of Nysa shows that Nysa was a Greek colony long before the advent of Alexander in India.[26] In the inscriptions of Aśoka[27] the Yonas are mentioned along with the Kāmbojas.[28] The existence of a Yona or Greek state during the days of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana is evident from the *Maijhima Nikāya*.[29] It is difficult to determine the exact situation of the Yona territory.[30] The existence of a pre-Alexandrian Greek (better Ionian) colony may be inferred from the evidence of the coins similar to those of the earliest type of Athens which are known to have been collected from the north-west frontiers of India. They bear the head of Athena on the obverse and owls on the reverse.[31] The owls of Athens have also been found in Southern Arabia Felix. But none of the owls found in the east are of the types known from Athens. The coins found in Arabia might have travelled there as a result of commercial intercourse.[32]

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[16] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 343ff.

[17] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 225.

[18] *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, p. 274.

[19] *Gautama Dharmaśāstra, IV, 21 ; Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. 1, 240 f. n.

[20] *Cf. Śakān Yavanamiśritān.*

[21] Cf. Uttarāpathamanāḥ Kīrtayisyāmi tān api. Yauna Kāmboja Gāndharāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha.

[22] Cf. Gāndhārā Yavanascaiva Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ : *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57, 36.

[23] *Trenckner Ed.*, p. 327. cf. Sīlaṃ mahārāja ṭhānaṃ, sīlepatiṭṭhito yoniso manasikaronto saka-yavane pi Cīna-Vilāte pi......pi yattha katthaci pi thito sammāpaṭipanno nibbānaṃ sacchikaroti.

[24] Vol. I, p. 171 ; Cf. Śakayāvanacīnaramaṭhapalhava — dardeṣu dasyu-pariṣāyāṃ | Ekavidhamucyamānā sarvaviyaccāriiṇī bharhat || pariṣāṃ nātikramate niscarmāṇā girā naravarāṇāṃ |

[25] *Carmichael Lectures,* 1921, p. 29. Pāṇini does not of course mean by *Yavanānī* any writing but only a feminine form of *Yavana*. It is Kātyāyana who distinguishes between *Yavanānī* and *Yavanī* restricting the use of the first to some form of Greek writing.

In the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (about 150 A.D.) a Yavana official or a vassal Yavanarājā called Tuṣāspha is said to have been the governor of Surāṣṭra (Kathiāwāḍ) with his capital at Girinagara (Girnār) during the days of the Maurya emperor Aśoka. B. M. Barua[33] has suggested a new interpretation of "Mauryasyaṃte". Tuṣāspha is, therefore, to be assigned to a period subsequent to that of the Mauryas. According to Vincent Smith the form of the name Tuṣāspha shows that he was a Persian. Raychaudhuri, however, argues that if Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names, there is no wonder that some of them assumed Iranic appellations. There is no good ground then for assuming that Tuṣāspha was not a Greek but a Persian. After the death of Aśoka, a Yavana army crossed the Hindu Kush which was the northern boundary of Asokan empire on the ruins of which an Indo-Greek kingdom arose.According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, a certain Yavana or Greek had besieged Sāketa or Ayodhyā and another place called Madhyamikā (near Chitor), if we believe the evidence of Patañjali's *Mahabhāṣya.*[34] Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers to a conflict between the Śuṅga prince Vasumitra and Yavana on the southern bank of the Sindhu. The name of this invader is not given either by Kālidāsa or Patañjali.[35] The extension of Yavana power to the interior of India was at first thwarted by the Śungas. In western India the last vestiges of Yavana power were swept away by the rising ascendancy of the Andhras or Sātavāhanas of the Deccan. King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi boasts in his Nasik Cave Inscription that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. In the north-west of India the Yavanas were finally swept away by the onrush of the Parthians or Pahlavas.[36]

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[26] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 32; Cf. Chinnock's *Arrian*, p. 399.

[27] See Rock Edict XIII.

[28] Cf. 'Yona-Komboyeṣu Nabhake Na (bhi) tina Bhoja-Pitinikeṣu Aṃdhra-Puli (de) ṣu savatra devanaṃ priyasa dhramanuśasti anuvataṃti' (Shahbazgarhi text—*Inscriptions of Asoka*, edited by Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 53-4).

[29] II, p. 149.

[30] Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind.*, 4th Edn., p. 253; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Car. Lec.*, 1921, p. 26—Acccording to Bhandarkar, the Yavanas lived outside the kingdom of Antiochus Theos.

[31] *Numismatic Chronicle*, XX, 191.

[32] *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, pp. 874ff.

[33] *Indian Culture*, X, 87.

The Nyseans : Holdich in discussing the site of Nysa which was a Yauna principality shows that the lower spurs and valleys of Koh-i-Mor are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood.[37] According to D. R. Bhandarkar Nysa was situated between the Kophen (Kabul) and the Indus.[38]

Arrian says that the Nysaeans were not an Indian race but descended from the men who came to India with Dionysus.[39] The deputies of Nysa who waited upon Alexander the great told the Macedonian monarch that their city was founded by Dionysus, for the Greeks believed that Dionysus conquered Asia in the old heroic days.

The Nysaeans had a republican form of government with Akouphis as their president and a governing body of three hundred members.[40] They came to help Alexander and three hundred of them joined the army of the Yavana king and followed him to battle in the plains of the Punjab.[41] On account of the depth of the protecting river Alexander thought it proper to reduce the town of Nysa by blockade. When this operation was in progress the inhabitants submitted to him. Alexander accepted the Nysaean appeal and exercised " a gracious clemancy ".[42]

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[34] '*Arunad Yavanaḥ Sāketam : Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām.*'

[35] *Pol. His. of Anc. Ind.*, 4th Edn., p. 316.

[36] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 157.

[37] Holdich, *Gates of India*, p. 122.

[38] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 32 ; B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 154.

[39] Chinnock's *Arrian*, p. 399.

[40] McCrindle's *Ancient India : its invasion by Alexander the great*, p. 81.

[41] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 354.

[42] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed. p. 56.

The country of the Glauganicians: The name of the tribe is given as Glauganikai by Aristobulus. Ptolemy calls it Glausians. Jayaswal restores the name as Glauchukāyana. According to classical writers,[43] the region occupied by this rule lay in close proximity with the kingdom of Poros. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri suggests that the latter portion of the name of this tribe resembles that of the Sanakānikas of the Gupta period.[44] The country occupied by the Glauganicians is said to have been the most populous with numerous cities.

The Adraistai: They lived on the eastern side of Hydraotes (Rāvī). Pimprama was their stronghold. In the Droṇaparva of the Mahābhārata (Chap. 159, 5) we have the statement: "Yaudheyānadrijān rājan Madrakān Mālavānapi." Here 'Adrijan' has been interpreted by some scholars as signifying a tribe, the 'Adrijas' who are supposed to be identical with the Adraistai of the Greeks. It is reasonable, however, to conclude that 'Adrijān' is simply an epithet qualifying the Yaudheyas (mountain-born). There is no mention in Sorensen's *Index to the names in the Mahābhārata* of 'adrija' used as the name of a tribe.[45] The Adraistai or Adhṛṣṭas are said to have bowed down before Alexander's army.[46]

The realm of Sophytes: The name Sophytes corresponds to Sanskrit Saubhūti. According to Strabo (XV, 30)[47] the region where Sophytes ruled was marked by the presence of "a mountain composed of fossil salt, sufficient for the whole of India." V. A. Smith is accordingly inclined to think that Sophytes was the "lord" of the fastnesss of the Salt Range stretching from Jhilam to the Indus.[48] The kingdom of Sophytes is placed to the east of the river Jhelum by all the classical writers. Curtius records some interesting stories about the strange manners and customs of the people living in the realm of Sopeithes (Sophyytes), who seem to have good laws and customs.[49] Among them a child from the moment of birth would be subject to careful medical inspection. Parents were not allowed to regard their children as their private property. A good and healthy child was considered as a possession of the State. Pedigree had no charm for them. Graceful looks or physical charms would count most in the matter of choosing one's partner. According to Strabo[50] even the dogs there were characterised by remarkable courage. According to classical writers Sophytes made an exhibition of the dogs of his realm. His great hunting dogs were noted for their strength and tenacity.[51] He tendered his submission to Alexander.[52] On the obverse of his coins we have the head of the king and on the reverse the figure of a cock. He was not an independent king but he seems to have been a vassal chieftain or viceroy of some other ruler.[53]

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[43] Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 276.
[44] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn., p. 201, n.
[45] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 75, n. 5.
[46] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 371 and n. 2.
[47] *The Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 94, n. 1.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[49] *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 219.

The realm of Phegalas or Phegeus: Phegelas or Phegeus was the ruler of a region between the Hydraotes (Rāvī) and the Hyphasis (Bias). The name Phegelas corresponds to Sanskrit *Bhagala.* Curtius (IX, 2, 2) gives the name Phegelis while Diodoros (XVII, 93) calls his Phegeus.[54] King Bhagala submitted to Alexander (*Journal Asiatique,* XV, 1890, p. 239).

The Agalassoi: According to classical writers they were the neighbours of the Biboi, having a formidable army of 40,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. According to Curtius they went against Alexander with the result that they met with a terrible fate. Alexander advanced 30 miles into their country and captured their chief town. At a second town he had to fight hard, which cost the lives of many Mecedonians. The inhabitants set fire to it and cast themselves with their families into the flames. The citadel escaped the fire.[55] According to Diodorus Alexander set fire to their town.

The Sudracae or Oxydrakai: In the writings of Greek historians of the time of Alexander, the Sudracae, Sydracae, Oxydrakai or Hydrakai are associated with a neighbouring tribe called Malli or Mallai or Malloi. These two tribes have long been identified with the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas of Sanskrit literature.[56] Pānini does not actually mention them by name, but this *sūtra* (V, 3, 117) speaks of certain tribes as '*āyudhajīvi saṃghas*' or tribes living by the profession of arms, and the *Kāśika* says that amongst these *saṃghas* were the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas. The Kṣudrakas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Droṇa parva, Chap. 10, p. 17; Sabhāparva, Chap. 32, p. 7) in conjunction with other north-western tribes like the Ambaṣṭhas, Śivis and Mālavas.

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[50] H. and F. tr., III, p. 93.

[51] Diodoros, XVII. 91, 92.

[52] *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 372.

[53] Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* 4th Ed., pp. 203-4.

[54] *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 372, n. 3.

[55] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India,* 4th Ed., pp. 97-98; Arrian's *Anabasis,* vi. 5; Curtius IX, 4; Diod, XVII, 96.

[56] *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. I, p. 23.

As to the geographical position of the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas) at the time of Alexander's invasion, H. C. Ray Chaudhuri opines that they were settled between the Hydraotes (Rāvī) and the Hyphasis (Bias), in the territory probably included within the Montgomery District.[57] Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces (the Kṣudrakas) from India.[58] According to Arrian the Malloi (Mālavas) had agreed to combine with the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas) against Alexander, but the conqueror had advanced so suddenly that their design was thwarted, and the two tribes could hardly have had the opportunity to unite against the common enemy.[59]

The Abastanoi: The Abastanoi, as their name indicates, corresponded to the Sanskrit Ambaṣṭhas who were the same as the Abastanoi (Arrian), Sambastai (Diodoros), Sabarcae (Curtis), and Sabagrae (Orosius).[60] In Alexander's time the tribe was settled on the lower Akesines (Asikinī) and had a democratic government. They had an army consisting of 60,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots under the command of three famous generals.[61] Abastanoi eventually submitted to Alexander.[62]

According to the Goldstücker, the older denomination of the tribe was probably Āmbaṣṭha and not Ambaṣṭha. The Ambaṣṭhas as a tribe existed as early as the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* when they were probably settled in the Punjab. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21-3), king Āmbaṣṭhya (= Ambaṣṭha) is mentioned as having been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka along with nine other kings. The *Mahābhārata* (II, 52, 14-15) mentions the Ambaṣṭhas along with the Śivis, Kṣudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes. In the Bhīṣma (Chap. 20, 10) and Droṇa (Chap. 119.14) Parvans, the Ambaṣṭhas are referred to as having taken part in the Kurukṣetra war on the side of the Kurus. In the Purāṇas they are represented as Āṇava Kṣatriyas and are said to have originated from Suvrata, son of Uśīnara. They were thus intimately connected with the Śivis and the Yaudheyas and were settled on the eastern border of the Punjab.[63] Their country is mentioned in the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*,[64] where it is associated with Sind (*Kāśmīra-Hūṇa-Ambaṣṭha-Sindhavaḥ*) and the tribe is included in the list derived by Colonel Wilford[65] from the *Varāha Saṃhitā*.[66] The Purāṇas seem to represent them as Kṣatriyas and the *Mahābhārata* refers to their king Śrutāyuḥ as 'the best of Kṣatriyas'. But the evidence of *Smṛti* literature seems to point to their mixed origin. According to the *Gautama-Dharmasūtra* (IV, 16), children born of wives of the next, second or third lower castes become Sabarṇas, Ambaṣṭhas, Ugras, Niṣādhas, Dauṣyantas or Pāraśaras. The Ambaṣṭhas would thus be descendants of Brāhmaṇas by Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra wives. In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta[67] an Ambaṭṭha (= Ambaṣṭha) is called a Brāhmaṇa. But according to the Jātakas[68] the Ambaṣṭhas were farmers. Manu describes them as a people who practised the art of healing.[69] S. N. Mazumdar thinks that they were a tribe of Brahma Kṣatriyas, that is, Brahmins by birth but warriors by profession.[70] H. C. Raychaudhuri maintains that they were a tribe who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, viz., those of priests, farmers, and according to *Smṛti* writers, physicians.[71]

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[57] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 205.
[58] *Ibid.*, 194.
[59] McCrindle, *Invasion of India*, p. 236, f. n. 1 ; p. 150.
[60] McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, 292 ff.
[61] Ibid., p. 252,
[62] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 376.
[63] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Hist. Tradition*, pp. 109 and 264.
[64] Ed. F. W. Thomas, p. 21.

During the first quarter of the second century A.D. the Ambaṣṭhas are referred to by the geographer Ptolemy as Ambastai, a tribe which is described as settled in the east of the country of the Paropanisadai, — Paropanisadai being a collective name for the tribes that were located along the southern and eastern sides of the Hindukush.[72] Lassen thinks[73] that the Ambastai may have been connected in some way with the Ambastai, another tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as dwelling 'along the country of the Bettigoi' and the mountain range of the same name (i.e., southern portion of the Western Ghats).

The Ambaṣṭhas seem to have migrated in later times to some place near the Mekala hill which is the source of the Narmadā.[74] In the Kūrmavibhāga of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (XIV, 7) they are associated with the Mekalas who dwelt on the Mekala hill; and the mention of Mekhalāmuṣṭa (which is in all probability a mis-reading for Mekalāmbaṣṭha) in the *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVIII, 14) would seem to prove that the two were neighbouring tribes. The tribe seems to have migrated eastwards as well, for even to-day a class of Kāyasthas known as Ambaṣṭhas Kāyasthas can be traced in Bihar. The Vaidyas of Bengal also claim to be designated as Ambaṣṭhas for they are described as such in Bharata Mallika's commentary on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*.[75]

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[65] *Asiatic Researches*, VIII, pp. 344, 346.
[66] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 96.
[67] *Digha*, I, p. 88.
[68] *Jataka*, IV, No. 363.
[69] *Manu*, X, 47.
[70] *C. A. G. I.*, notes p. 670.
[71] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 207.
[72] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Majumdar's Ed., pp. 311-12.
[73] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, pp. 159, 161.
[74] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 97 and 374.

The Xathroi or Oxathroi and the Ossadioi: The exact geographical position of these two tribes is at present unknown. According to McCrindle,[76] the Xathroi were probably the same as the *Kṣatri* of Sanskrit literature, an impure tribe of mixed origin. According to some scholars like Saint-Martin the Ossadioi were probably identical with the Vaśāti mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as being associated with the Śibis and Sindhu-Sauvīras.[77] The Xathri and the Ossadii were compelled to submit to Alexander.[78]

The Sodrai (Sogdoi) and the Massanois: The Sodrai or Sogdoi of Greek historians of Alexander's time are most likely identical with the Śūdras of Indian literature. Greek writers refer to them as Sodrai in association with the Massanoi and Mousikanoi, all of whom occupied portions of modern Sind.

The Śūdras as a tribe seem to have played a considerable part in ancient Indian history. In Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* (1, 2, 3) and in the *Mahābārata*[79] they are associated with the Ābhīras. According to the *Mahabharata* (79) (IX, 37, 1) they lived in the region where the river Sarasvatī vanishes into the desert, i.e., near Vinaśana in Western Rajputana.[80] . In the Harivamsa[81] we have *Madrābhīraḥ* (Madras and Ābhīras) instead of the usual compound '*Śūdrābhīraḥ*'. Madra may reasonably be taken to be a misreading for Sudra, for the Madra are hardly anywhere associated with the Ābhīras.[82] M. Langolis reads '*Śūrābhīrāḥ*', evidently following the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and some other *Purāṇas*.

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[75] *Ibid.*, p. 97, n. 10.

[76] *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 156 n.

[77] *Mahābhārata*, VII, 19.11; 89.37; VIII, 44.49; VI, 106.8; VI, 51.14; Cf. *Gāndhārāḥ Sindhu-Sauvīrāḥ Sivayo'tha Vaśātayaḥ*.

[78] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 376.

[79] Śalyaparvan, 2119.

[80] Cf. *Śūdrābhīrān prati deśād yatra naṣṭā Sarasvati*.

[81] Calcutta Ed. 12, 837.

[82] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 350.

[83] See his translation of the *Harivaṃśa*, Vol. II, p. 401; Also Goldstücker's *Dictionary*, p. 299.

According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Puraṇa* (57, 35) the Śūdras were located in the Aparānta region or western country, and were associated with the Vāhlīkas, Vātadhānas, Ābhīras, Pallavas and others. The *Brahma Purāṇa* (19, 17) and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XII, 1, 36) similarly assign them to the west and associate them Saurāṣṭras, Ābhīras, Arbudas and Mālavas. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (II, 3) has '*Śūrābhīraḥ*' which is evidently a misreading for '*Sūdrābhīrāḥ*'.

The territory of Mousikanos: Mousikanos is possibly a title denoting the chief of the Mūṣikas.[84] Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* suggests Muchukarṇa.[85] It is reasonable to suggest that the Mūṣikas or Mūṣakas were an offshoot of the northern tribe known to Alexander's historians as the Mousikanos. The principality of Mousikanos comprised a large portion of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the Sukkur district.[86] According to Arrian[87] "Brachmans", i.e., the Brāhmaṇas, seemed to have been very influential in this region. They are said to have been the main agents in bringing about an uprising of the people against the Macedonian invader. But Alexander took them by surprise and they had to submit to him.[88] Strabo[89] gives an interesting account of the inhabitants of this territory. They used to eat in public and their food consisted of what was taken in the chase. They made no use of gold or silver, although they had mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age. They studied no science with attention but that of medicine. They never liked to go to law courts by creating constant disputes.

In Indian literature we find frequent references to the tribe called Mūṣikas or Muṣikas (Mṛṣikas) who are thus spoken of as a people living in the south in both the *Mahābhārata*[90] and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. The same people are probably referred to us Mūṣakas in the *Mahābhārata*.[91]

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVIII, 16) speaks of a people called Mṛṣikas who are said to be living in the south-east. The Mṛṣikas were probably the same as Mūṣikas or Mūṣakas.

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[84] *Cambridge Hist. of India*, I, p. 377.
[85] Raychaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, 4th Ed. p. 208, n. 2.
[86] Raychaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, p. 208.
[87] Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 319.
[88] *Cambridge Hist. of India*, Vol. I, p. 377.
[89] H. & F's Tr., III, p. 96.
[90] *Bhīṣmaparva*, IX, 366.
[91] *Ibid.*, IX, 366 and 371.

Pargiter[92] suggests that the Mūṣikas or Mūṣakas were probably settled on the banks of the river Musi on which stands modern Hyderabad. Patañjali also mentions a people called Mauṣikāra (IV, 1, 4) who are probably connected with the Mūṣikas were probably so called because their territory lay in that portion of the north-western trade route which was known by the name of Mūṣikapatha or red tract.[93]

The territory of Sambos: The Indian equivalent of the Greek name is possibly Sambhu.[94] H. C. Raychaudhuri[95] suggests Śāmba as a possible alternative. According to classical writers, Sambos ruled the mountainous country adjoining the territory of Mousikanos. There was, however, no other relation save that of mutual jealousy and animosity between these two neighbours. The capital of this country is called Sindimana, which has been identified with Sehwan, a city on the Indus.[96] V. A. Smith says that Sindimana may or may not have been Sihwān with which it is commonly identified for no better reason than that both names begin with S.[97] Sambos who fled in terror afterwards submitted to Alexander. Curtius (ix. 3) says that the troops of Sambos used poisoned swords.

A city of Brāhmaṇas[98] had to be stormed while the operations against Sambos were going on.[99] Musicanus was urged by the Brahmins to revolt, but he was taken prisoner by Pithon, the Greek Governor of Sind. He was then tried and executed by Alexander. A great and inhuman slaughter of Brahmins followed. Their bodies were hung up on the road side for being devoured by kites and vultures.[100]

Patalene: The little state of Patalene, as the Greeks called it, was probably named after its capital city Patala. Patalene is generally identified with the Indus delta, and its capital town Patala (Sir Prasthala) is supposed to have stood at or near the site of modern Bāhmaṇābād, which was discovered by Bellasis in

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[92] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 366.

[93] Barua, *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Ch. III.

[94] *Cambridge History of India*, p. 377.

[95] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed.; p. 209, n. 4

[96] McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 404.

[97] *Early History of India*, 4th Ed. p. 106, f. n. 4.

[98] *Diod.*, XVII, 103, 1.

[99] *Arrian*, VI, 16, 5.

[100] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 378.

1854.[101] This site is the most ancient and includes extensive prehistoric remains.[102]

There is evidence to believe that this little state had a non-monarchical, that is to say, oligarchic form of government. According to Diodoros[103] the constitution of Tauala (Patala) was similar to that of Sparta. There was a Council of Elders vested with supreme authority in the management and conduct of the usual administration. Besides, there were two hereditary kings representing two different royal houses. There were the military leaders of the nation and as such commanded the national militia in times of war. We have the name of one of these kings, e.g., Moeres, who ruled during the time of Alexander's invasion.[104] Moeres is said to have advanced from his capital city Patala to tender his submission and pay homage to Alexander. But the inhabitants fled before Alexander entered the city.[105] According to Strabo[106] Patalene long after Alexander's invasion passed under the rule of Bactrian Greeks along with other coastal localities like Saraostos (Surāṣṭra or Kāthiāwār) and Sigerdis. Patalene or the Indus Delta later on came to the hands of Śaka or Indo-Scythian rulers from the clutches of the Indo-Greek rulers. About the middle of the second century A.D., the geographer Ptolemy notes that the principal Indo-Scythian possessions were Patalene (the Indus Delta), Abiria (the Ābhīra country) and Syrastrene (i.e., Kāthiāwār).[107]

The Pāradas: The Pāradas seem to have been a barbarous hill tribe and they are associated with rude tribes of the north as mentioned in the Epic and Puranic tradition.[108] According to the *Harivaṃśa* (XIII, 763-64; XIV, 775-83) they were *mlecchas* and *dasyus*. King Sagara degraded them and ordered them to have their hair-locks long and dishevelled. In the *Manusmṛti* (X, 43-44) we find that they were Kṣatriyas originally but were later degraded owing to the absence of sacred rites among them.

The Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka gives a list of vassal states including the Pāradas. The Palidas have often been identified with the Pulindas. Hultzsch, however, does not accept this identification for the Kālsi and Girṇār versions of the Edict have the variants Pālada and Pārimda. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks that these variants remind us of the Pāradas.[109] If that be so, then the association of the Pāradas with the Andhras in Asokan inscriptions would suggest that in the Maurya period they may have been located in the Deccan. But the matter still remains undecided.

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[101] *JBBRAS.*, January, 1856.
[102] *ASWI.*, *Progress Report*, 1896-97.
[103] *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 296.
[104] *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 256.
[105] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 378-79.
[106] *Hamilton and Falconer*, Vol. II, pp. 252-53.
[107] *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 354; Raychaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, p. 371.
[108] E.g., *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, L., 1832; LI, 1869; Droṇaparva, CXXI, 4819; *Vāyupurāṇa*, Chap. 88.

According to the ancient historical tradition contained in the Epics and Purāṇas, the Pāradas were one of the allies of the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas who drove Bāhu, the eighth king in descent from Hariścandra, from his throne.[110] According to Pargiter they were a tribe of the north-west.[111]

Satiyaputra : The Rock Edict XIII refers to some territories in the south including Satiyaputra. The Satiyaputras mentioned as a people in the Mansehra version of R.E. II, lay to the west of the territories of the Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas and extended along the western sea coast of South India.[112] The Satiyaputras had their territory above that of the Keralaputras, who were the independent "Frontagers" or "borderers". Aśoka's *Dharma-vijaya* was also won in the independent territory of the Satiyaputras. According to Venkatesvaraiyar,[113] Satiyaputra mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions is identical with Satyavratakṣetra or Kāñcīpura. Aiyangar, however, contends that the term *Satyavratakṣetra* is applied to the town of Kāñcī or its localities. Raychaudhuri objects to his identification on the ground that 'vrata' can hardly be transformed to 'puta'. Aiyangar agrees with R. G. Bhandarkar in identifying Satiyaputra with Satpute. According to him Satiyaputra is a collective name denoting the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nayars of Malabar.[114] Vincent Smith[115] identifies Satiyaputra with the Satyamangalam Taluk or subdivision of Coimbatore district, lying along the western ghats and bordering on Mysore, Malabar, Coimbatore and Coorg. According to some Satiyaputra is the same as 'Satyabhūmi' of the Keralolpatti i.e., a territory roughly equal to North

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[109] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 259.
[110] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 206, 268 and n.
[111] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 365.
[112] Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, p. 111.
[113] *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, pp. 541-2.
[114] *J.R.A.S.*, 1919, pp. 581-84.
[115] *Aśoka*, Third Ed., p. 161.

Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara.[116] According to Barnett and Jayaswal the names Sātavāhaṇa and Sātakarṇi are derived from that of Sātiyaputa.[117] All the identifications based upon the equation of Satiya of Satiyaputra with *Satya* meaning truth are questionable.

Keralaputra : Keralaputra (variant Ketalaputo) is undoubtedly the Kerala or Chera country. Like the Coḷas the Keralas were one of the earliest tribes of southern India. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (IV, 1, 4th Āhnika) mentions Kerala or Malabar. The Keralaputra is the country south of Kūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūṣika. It was watered by the river Periyar on the banks of which stood its capital Vañji (near Cochin) and at its mouth there was the seaport of Muziris (Kranganur).[118] According to Barnett[119] the Chera or Kerala country comprised Travancore, Cochin and the Malabar District. The Koṅgudeśa (corresponding to the Coimbatore District and the southern part of Salem District) was annexed to it. Its capital was originally Vañji (now Tiru-Karur, on the Periyar river, near Cochin) but later Tiru-Vañjik-kalam (near the mouth of the Periyar). It had important trading centres on the western coast at Tondi on the Agalappulai about five miles north of Quilāndi, Muchiri (near the mouth of the Periyar), Palaiyūr (near Chowghāṭ) and Vaikkarai (close to Kottayam). Chera or Kerala finds mention in the Epics and *Purāṇas*.[120]

In his second and thirteenth Rock Edicts, Aśoka mentions the Ketalaputas or Keralas as a people living on the border though outside his own realm. Later on during the age of the *Periplus*, Cerobothra (i.e., Keralaputra) was included within Damirica. Subsequently during the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Karoura was ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra).

Senguttavan Chera was the first notable Chera monarch. From the Coḷas the hegemony of the south was wrested for a time by the Cheras but it soon went to the Pāṇḍyas and ultimately to the Pallavas.[121]

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[116] *J.R.A.S.*, 1923, p. 412.

[117] Raychaudhuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 343, n. 2.

[118] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 193.

[119] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 595.

[120] *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, XXX, pp. 1174-5; Chap. 31; Bhīṣmaparva, IX, 352, 365; *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, Chap. 41; Bom. Ed.; *Vāyupurāṇa*, XLV, 124; *Matsyapurāṇa*, CXIII, 46; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Chap. 57, 45 (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Cf. *Harivaṃśa*, XXXII, 1836.

Tambapaṃni: Tambapaṃni of Asokan inscriptions is generally identified with Tāmraparṇī. The name Tāmraparṇī was generally applied to Ceylon. It is called Taprobane by Greek writers. Tambapaṃni i.e., Tāmraparṇī is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka. Vincent Smith[122] thinks that the term does not denote Ceylon but merely indicates the river Tāmraparṇī in Tinnevelly. He refers to the Girnar text "ā Taṃbapaṃni" which according to him, indicates that the river is meant and not Ceylon. Raychaudhuri contends that the phrase, "ā Taṃbapaṃni" in Rock Edict II comes after Ketalaputo and not after Pāḍā. According to him the expression: "Ketalaputo as far as the Tāmraparṇī" is hardly appropriate because the Tāmraparṇī is a Pāṇḍya river.[123] In Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra (II, XI) Tāmraparṇī has been referred to as Pārasamudra. In R. E. XIII, the people of Tāmraparṇī are expressly mentioned as Tambapaṃniyā i.e., Tāmraparṇyas. In this edict Tāmraparṇī or the country of the Tāmraparnyas is placed below Pāṇḍya. In the great Epic too the country Tāmraparṇī is placed below Pāṇḍya or Drāviḍa, and Mount Vaidūryaka[124] is mentioned as its rocky landmark. The *āśramas* of Agastya and his disciple and the *Gokarṇa-tīrtha* are located in it. These facts enable us to identify Tāmraparṇī with Hiuen Tsang's Malayakūṭa also placed below Drāviḍa, with Mount Potalaka (Vaidūryaka) as its landmark. By Tāmraparṇī or Taprobane, Ceylon is meant, the word dvīpa or island is associated with it. In one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, Tambapaṃna is clearly distinguished from the island of Tambapaṇṇī.[125]

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[121] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 193-94.

[122] *Aśoka*, 3rd Ed., 162.

[123] *Political History of Ancient India*, (4th Ed.) p. 273.

[124] It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, LXXXVII, 8343; LXXXIX,8354-61). Here costly stone was available, hence the range was so called.

[125] Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, Chap. III.

Ayanamsa and Indian Chronology
The Age of Varahamihira, Kalidasa, Etc.

AN ASTRONOMICAL PROOF

BY

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Astronomers have played no small part in fixing up the chronology of Indian History ; but I consider that the last word on the subject has not been said ; this is mainly due to the complexity of the materials dealt with. The late Swamikannu Pillai, having fixed 536 A.D. as the year of zero Ayanamsa, came to the conclusion that Varahamihira lived in the *sixth century A.D.* But his method requires reconsideration on purely astronomical grounds and the object of this article is a reconsideration of the subject in a different light. The results arrived at may not be new, but I am sure that the method adopted is entirely original ; I commend this article to the attention of oriental scholars for their critical study.

The Saka of Varahamihira :—In the Brihatsamhita, Varahamihira states that the Great Bear, the Saptarshis, was in Magha Nakshatra when Yudhishtira was ruling over our country and 2526 years are to be added to the epoch of his rule to get Saka-Kala.

> Asan makhasu munayah sasathi pṛdhveem yudhishṭire nṛpathaw |
> shatdwikapancha dwiyutah saka kalah thasya rajnascha ||

Yudhishtira ruled for 25 years after the death of Lord Krishna, at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and in memory of Yudhishtira, a Saka was started in the 26th year of Kali, Astronomically, it is stated that the Kaliyuga began at midnight of 17-18th February 3102 B.C. So Yudhishtira Saka or Era was started in 3077 B.C. ; and the epoch of Saka-Kala must be 3077 B.C. – 2526 = 551 B.C. elapsed or 550 B.C., current.

So we find that 550 B.C. is the epoch of Saka-Kala mentioned by Varahamihira.

The epoch of Panchasiddhantika of Varahamihira is 427 Saka i.e., 123 B.C. In the same book, he gives some more points for the verification of the correctness of this date,

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Ayanamsa:—In Brihatsamhita, Varahamihira states as follows:—

> Asleshardhath dakshinamuṭharamayyanam ravērdhanishtadyam |
> Nunam kadachidaseeth yēnoktham purva ṣastreshu ||
> Samprathamayanam savithuh karkatakadyam yugadithaschantyam |
> Vukthabhavo vikritihi pratyakshaparikshaṇairvyakthihi ||

"Old books state that once Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the mid-point of Aslesha and Uttarayana when the sun reached the beginning of Dhanishta. But now the ayanas begin when the sun reaches the beginning of Karkataka and Makara signs. This can be verified by actual observation." But in Chapter III of Panchasiddhantika, Varahamihira states as follows:—

> Asleshardhaḍaseedhyada nivṛththihi kiloshna kiraṇasya |
> Yukthamayanam thadaseeth samprathamayanam punarvasuthah ||

"Once the sun changed his course from the mid-point of *Aslesha*; but now from Punarvasu."

The beginning of Karkataka coincides with the end of the third pada of Punarvasu. So what does '*from Punarvasu*' = *punarvasuthah mean? Punarvasuthah* cannot mean the end of third pada or the beginning of fourth pada. The two statements have to be reconciled. It can be done in one of the following ways:—

(a) Either that the author — even though of the same name — of Panchasiddhantika is different from that of Brihat Samhita.

(b) Or that Brihatsamhita being a non-Karana grantha, Varahamihira gave only a rough position, whereas in the Panchasiddhantika he gave the actual longitude, the *end of Punarvasu* as the point at which the southward motion of the sun began. It is also to be remembered that *punarvasuthah* cannot mean the beginning of Punarvasu, but must mean only the end of it, since otherwise he would have stated definitely the *beginning of Punarvasu* just in the same way he mentioned dhanishtadyam.

So, let us now find what the date of the epoch is when Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the end of Punarvasu, that is, when the Nirayana longitude of the sun was 93° 20′.

This change in the dates of the beginning of Dakshinayana and Uttarayana is due to the well-known astronomical phenomenon, called the Precession of the Equinoxes.

According to Newcomb, Ball and other authorities, the value of the rate of the Precession of the Equinoxes per year, *Ayanagathi* is $50''\cdot2585$ in 1909 A.D., while its rate for a year in the past, n years earlier than 1909 A.D., is given by $50''\cdot2585 - n \times \cdot000\,225''$ per annum. Swamikannu Pillai[1] found by calculation, from the nautical almanac that when the apparent vernal equinox occurred at Lanka, the date was March 21·2143 and that the beginning of the Indian Sidereal year at Lanka was April 12·9492. The difference, between the two moments equal to 22·7349 days, is the time taken by the sun to travel along the ecliptic from 0° tropical longitude to 0° Indian Sidereal longitude in the year 1909 A.D. Then Swamikannu Pillai shows that 536 A.D. is the year of zero ayanamsa and therefore the epoch of Panchasiddhantika. There are the following drawbacks in the whole argument :—

(a) It was considered that Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the beginning of Karkataka instead of the end of Punarvasu.

(b) The fact that the modern tropical year goes on decreasing at the rate of 0·53 seconds per century was not taken into consideration.

(c) At least at the time of Varahamihira, the Indian Sidereal year — so designated at present — was really a tropical year and the value for the precession of the equinoxes must be taken as $50''\cdot2585 - n \times \cdot000225''$ and not as $54''\cdot7505$ as assumed by Swamikannu Pillai.

Calculation of Ayanamsa :—Now 22·7349 days in time-interval for Ayanamsa is equal to 22·4136 degrees and adding 3° 20′, the equivalent for Punarvasu fourth pada, we get, on simplification, 25° 45′ as the space interval for ayanamsa between the time of Varahamihira and the year 1909 A.D. But the interval from 427 Saka (= 123 B.C. or − 122 astronomical) and 1909 A.D. is equal to 2031 years, and taking the cumulative value for n years as $50''\cdot2585 \times n - \dfrac{n(n+1)}{2} \times 0\cdot000225''$ and substituting 2031 for n in this formula, we get 28° 15′ as the ayanamsa, whereas we have seen that the value must be 25° 45′. How is this difference to be reconciled ?

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[1] Indian Ephemeris by Swamikannu Pillai.

The ayanamsa for one year is 50″·25 and so it works out roughly to be 72 years for one year. Now 28° 15′ – 25° 45′ = 2° 30′ will correspond to about 180 years and are we to shift the epoch of Panchasiddhantika to a date 180 years later, that is, to 180 – 122 = 58 A.D. ? No, that will not be the correct proceedure ; but unfortunately that has been the method adopted almost uniformly in dealing with Indian Chronology. A different method will now be followed.

The discrepancy resolved :—It has been already noted that Kaliyuga began at mid-night of 17-18th February 3102 B.C. But most of the ephemerides reckon on February 15·579 as the epoch of Kaliyuga, that is, they have used a bija or correction. Since the day begins at mean sunrise at Lanka for Indian Siddhantas, mid-night of 17-18th February 3102 B.C. corresponds to February 17·75 of 3102 B.C. The value of correction used is 17·75 – 15·57 = 2·18 days and the Indian Sidereal year began in 1909 A.D. not on April 12·95 + 2·18 days = April 15·13. So the interval between the moment of apparent vernal equinox and the beginning of the Indian Sidereal year is 24·91 days but not 22·73 days as assumed by Swamikannu Pillai. The time interval of 24·91 days corresponds to a space interval of 24° 30′ and so the space interval of ayanamsa between the epoch of Panchasiddhantika and 1909 A.D. is 24°39′ + 3°20′ = 27°59′, whereas according to our calculation it ought to be 28°15′ with an error of 16 minutes which falls within the limits of probable error and so can be considered as insignificant. So ayanamsa calculations lead us to the conclusion that the epoch of Panchasiddhantika is 123 B.C. and not 505 A.D. as wrongly presumed hitherto. As Varahamihira makes no mention of ayanamsa, it is presumed that it was zero in his time.

The epoch of Bhattotpala :—Bhattotpala finished his commentary on Brihatjataka in Saka 888, and he mentions that the ayanamsa in his days was 7 days[2] or to be more accurate 6½ degrees sardhashatkamsah according to one reading. The commentary on Brihatjataka must have been finished in 888 – 549 = 339 A.D. The interval between the epoch of Panchasiddhantika and the completion of the commentary on Brihatjataka is 888 — 427 = 461 years. Therefore the value of the annual rate of the precession of the equinoxes is 6½°/461 = 390 × 60/461 seconds = 50·8 seconds, which may be considered as a fairly accurate value. The early Indian astronomers are really to be congratulated on their proficiency in astronomical calculations. All these results prove conclusively the unsustainability of the theory that the Indian astronomers were wholly indebted to the Greeks for their knowledge of astronomy. Hipparchus lived about 160 B.C. and Ptolemy made observations between 127 A.D. to 151 A.D.

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[2] Vide Brihat Samhita with Bhattotpala's commentary, Adityachara.

Some deductions:—It is easy to draw some important and interesting deductions from the above results. Amarasimha (or is it Amaraja ?) has stated that Varahamihira died in Saka 509 at the age of 82 years. So he must have been born in 427 Saka, the epoch of Panchasiddhantika. It may be safely assumed that this versatile Hindu astronomer lived between 427 — 509 Saka or 123 B.C. — 41 B.C. This fixes the period of Kalidasa and others from the following slokas of Jyotirvidabharana :—

> Kavyatrayam sumathi krdraghuvamsa purvam |
> purvam thathasmṛthi hitham ṣruthikarmavādam |
> Jyothirvidabharaṇam kalaviḍhanasastràm |
> Srikalidasa kavithohi thatho bhabhuva ||
> Dhanvantari kshapaṇakamarasimha ṣanku |
> Vetalabhatta ghatakarparakalidasah |
> Rhyathovarahamihiro nṛpathessabhayam |
> ratnanivai vararuchi rnava vikramasya ||

In these slokas, Kalidasa states that he was the author of Raghuvamsa and other kavyas and also of Jyotirvidabharana and that he was the contemporary of Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amarasimha, Sanku Bhatta, Vetala Bhatta, Gata, Karpa and Vararuchi who with Kalidasa formed the nine gems at the court of Vikramaditya.

Kalidasa gives the date of the composition of this book as Kali 3068 or 34 B.C. in the following sloka :—

> Varshesindhuradarsanambara gunairyate kalaw samsthithe |
> masemadhava samjnithetra vihitho granthakriyopakramah ||

"This work was begun in the Vaisakha month of the year Kali 3068."

This king Vikramarka, the founder of the Saka with epoch 55 B.C. defeated the Saka King of Rumaka and annexed Ujjain

> Yorumakeṣadhipathim sakeṣvaram |
> Jithvagrihithojjayinim mahahave |
> Aniyasambhramya mumocha thamthvaho |
> srivikramarkassamasahya vikramah ||

This proves that Kalidasa and Amarasimha lived in the first century B. C.

Some more proofs : — The question that next suggests itself is whether the conclusion that Varahamihira lived in the second and first centuries B.C. is quite definite and incontrovertible. Apart from the question of Ayanamsa, there is another point to be considered. Varahamihira has stated as follows in Panchasiddhantika : —

> Sapthaṣviveda saṁkhyam ṣaka kalamapasya chaitrasukladau |
> Ardhastamite bhanau yavanapure saumyadivasadye ||

" Subtract 427 from Saka Kala, when the sun was half-setting at Yavanapuri at the beginning of Chaitra Sukla Pratipadi, it was the beginning of Wednesday.

Yavanapuri is 90 degrees west of Ujjain and when the sun is half-setting at Yavanapuri, it must be midnight at Ujjain, Tuesday—Wednesday, at the beginning of Chaitra Suklaprathipadi. Sudhakara Dwivedi has quoted Saumyadivasadye from the manuscript available with him and later on corrected it into somadivasadye " beginning of Monday," in his edition of Panchasiddhantika when he found from calculations that it was not the beginning of a Wednesday on Chaitra Sukladan of 427 Salivahana Saka elapsed, but the beginning of a Monday.

The text of Panchasiddhantika as edited by Dr. Thibaut, which I have consulted gives Bhaumadivasadye beginning of Tuesday."

Sankara Balakrishna Dikshit states as follows[3] : —

" The real epoch and initial day of the Panchasiddhantika is Ananta Vaisakha Suklaprathipadi of Saka Samvat 428 current (427 elapsed) which ended on Bhaumavara (Tuesday) 22-3-505 A.D. The Ananta Chaitra Suklaprathipadi 427, Salivahana Saka elapsed, ended not on a Tuesday but on a Sunday." " But when the kshepas in the Panchasiddhantika given in accordance with the original Suryasidhanta are taken into consideration, neither of these dates, nor any other date, stands the test. It is proved beyond all doubt as will be seen further on that the kshepas are for the Ananta Chaitra Krishna Chathurdasi of 428 (current) Salivahana Saka, when ended on Sunday, 20-3-505 A.D. . . . . "

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[3] Original Suryaṣiddhanta, Ind. Antiquary, XIX, page 46.

So both the week day and the kshepas are not correct if we take 427, Salivahana Saka, (elapsed) as the epoch of Pancha-siddhantika. But if we take the Saka with its epoch at 550 B.C., then the week days are perfectly correct both as regards the epoch of Panchasidhantika and the date of completion of his commentary on Brihatjataka by Bhattotpala :—

Chaitramasasya panachamyam sitayam guruvasare |
vasvashtashtamike ṣake krteyam vivṛthirmaya ||

"I have finished this commentary on Thursday, Chaitra Sukla-panchami, Saka 888."

The week day does not come out correctly if we take either, the Salivahana Saka or Vikrama Saka.

So the Saka mentioned by both Varahamihira and Bhattotpala refers only to the Saka with 550 B.C. as the epoch.

Also at the time of Varahamihira, Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the end of Punarvasu. But later on, the point seems to have been lost sight of by the other astronomers.

Later astronomers:—All the later astronomers, including Bhaskaracharya have given the epoch of zero ayanamsa some year in the fifth century of Salivahana Saka. For example, the author of Ganakanandam gives 421 (499 A.D.) as the year of zero Ayanamsa, with 54 seconds as the rate per year, whereas Bhaskara gives 412 (490 A.D.) as the year of zero ayanamsa but with 60 seconds as the rate per year.

Let us consider the following table as regards the year of zero ayanamsa :—

Varahamihira	.. 427 Saka	(sapthasvivedasamkhya)
Kalidasa	.. 445 Saka	(sarambhodhiyuga)
Bhaskaracharya	.. 412 Saka	
Suryadaivagna (Author of Ganakanandam)	.. 421 Saka	

by calculation

This shows that all these astronomers are agreed that some year in the *fifth century of some Saka* as the year of zero ayanamsa. What is that Saka ? Varahamihira, Kalidasa and Bhattotpala seem to refer to the Saka with its epoch in 550 B.C. as their Saka — which I called Andhra Saka in another paper. But the later astronomers thought that the Saka was Salivahana Saka and by actual calculation arrived at the year of zero ayanamsa. That accounts for the difference in the rates of ayanamsa among the later astronomers. Further this is the only method that can be adopted, as the point with which the first point of Aries coincided during the time of Varahamihira is an imaginary point which cannot be located by the later astronomers, when once the first of Aries had moved away from that point. Again it is to be noted that at the time of Varahamihira, the first point of Aries seems to have coincided with the end of Punarvasu and not at the beginning of Karkata (cancer). Tha is the only inference I can draw from pure calculations from the available data.

Does Bhaskara Use Salivahaṇa Saka? :—Yes. There is no doubt about it. Let us consider the following :—

gathobdadri nandau (974) mite ṣaka kale.

" Years 974, 1115, 1256, 1378 of Sakakala are years having Kshaya months and their period is generally 141 years and occasionally with period of 19 years.

On actual calculation, I found that 1052 A.D., corresponding to 974 Salivahana Saka, was a year with a Kshaya month, whereas the Andhra Saka does not satisfy this test. So the proof is unequivocal.

Conclusion :—But the week days mentioned by Varahamihira and Bhattotpala do not satisfy the Salivahana Saka and so the Saka referred to by them cannot be Salivahana Saka, but only the Saka with 550 B.C. as the epoch. Bhaskara and others refer only to Salivahana Saka. I leave it to scholars to judge on their merits the conclusions of this article, in which I have attempted to remove some of the existing discrepancies in Indian Chronology. In conclusion, let me end with a statement of Quetelet, the eminent French statistician " Never reject data, contrary to your theory."

4, Siddhanta Siromani, Madyamadhikara Adhimasa prakarana, Sloka 9.

Christian and Non-Christian Crosses in Ancient India

BY

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I. Mount Cross, Madras (figure on p. 122)

Crosses of the pre-Christian and Christian periods have been discovered in India, the most famous of them being the Pahlavi-inscribed miraculous stone cross, wrongly called "St. Thomas Cross", accidentally dug up by the Portuguese in 1547 A.D. from St. Thomas Mount, Madras, and now preserved over the main altar in the Church on that Mount. After its discovery and attribution to St. Thomas it is said that occasionally, since 1557, it began to sweat and bleed miraculously. So many copies of that sweating, bleeding cross were (as Gouvea says in his *Jornada,* 1606, fol. 60 v, col. 1) made by Christians in Malabar (and perhaps in other parts of India and in Ceylon), and set up in their churches and greatly venerated. Some of those copies with or without a clumsy, unintelligent, reproduction of the original Pahlavi inscription, have been discovered in Travancore, but not in other parts of Malabar, the best known of such inscribed copies being the two in the Valiya Palli Church at Kottayam in North Central Travancore.[1] No such imitation crosses, with or without the Pahlavi inscription, have yet been discovered in localities south of Kottayam or North of Ālangād in North Travancore. Copies discovered in other parts of India too are not known. The Ālangād copy has no inscription. Why the known copies of the miraculous Mount Cross are confined to the Kottayam — Ālangād portion of Travancore has yet to be explained. (The older Kottayam cross is said to have been brought from Cranganore).

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[1] For details about the original cross and its copies, and about the several interpretations of the Pahlavi inscription see the present writer's *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents,* 1929. The latest interpretation of the Pahlavi inscription by Dr. W. H. Henning of Cambridge, kindly supplied to me in his letter dated Cambridge, 6th September 1948, received by air on the 13th of that month runs: "*My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras, son of Chaharbukht, son of Giwargis, who set this up.*" See this *Journal* for December 1948, pp. 318-19.

Since the inscription is held to be in "Sassanian Pahlavi", the Mount Cross is usually assigned to the Sassanian period of Persian history, viz. A.D. 226 to 651. But later Pahlavi inscriptions are found in West India, e.g. on the Travancore Sthāṇu Ravi copper-plate of about 873 A.D. belonging to the Quilon Tarisā (=Christian) church built about 825 A.D. by the Persian merchant Maruvān Sabr-Īśō, described in the document as he "who founded this city and obtained possession of it." This was in fact a *rebuilding* of the city after its destruction,[2] two or three years before. Two later Indian Pahlavi inscriptions also are known, viz., those of 10th October, and 24th November 1009, and that of 30th October, 1021, scribbled in the Kanheri caves in Bombay by Parsi visitors. The Mount Cross and its Pahlavi inscription may therefore be even of a year subsequent to the Sassanian period, A.D. 226-651.

II. A ST. THOMAS CROSS IN CRANGANORE, COCHIN

In his *Jornada* (Coimbra, 1606), fol. 53 r-v, Gouvea describes another so-called St. Thomas Cross thus:—

"Cranganore was anciently a very noble city of the Christians of St. Thomas, where many lived, and very rich ones[3] and where at first they began to have communication with the Portuguese, when presently they came to India. And the Church which exists today" (about 1600 A.D.) "in the fortress is the same which the Christians had anciently" (from the year 50 or 52, &c., A.D. as some say, in which St. Thomas is said to have built it, and erected a cross there). "Wherefore, they have much affection and devotion for it, and also to a cross which is in the same City, which they call the Cross of the Christians, having for tradition that Saint Thomas placed it there and made many miracles, not only for the faithful, but also for the infidels, God wishing the sign of his holy cross to be honoured and venerated by all. The cross is placed in the middle of a chapel, open on one side, and entirely shut off with a grating: and it gives so much devotion to all who with true faith prostrate themselves before it, that there is no person who feels not in its presence newness of spirit and compunction of heart. On arriving in the morning, and after having been taken in procession to the Church, where he prayed to the most blessed Sacrament, the Archbishop" (Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes) "went to this Cross to say Mass. This Cross has sometimes been raised in the air, so high that it almost disappeared [Folio 53 v, col. 1] from the eyes of the beholders; and so full of splendour that it blinded the eyes of those who looked on it. The Gentios have so much veneration for it that they make to it many vows and offerings in their illness or needs, or when they have lost things which they value; and they send oil and wax to light it up, and they say presently that they obtain favours and find what they have lost; and, not long before the Archbishop arrived there, the old king of Cranganore, having lost something which he much liked, sent oil to the cross, and found it presently. Which he attributed to the Cross of the Christians. And, though many Gentios receive daily remedy in their wants, in this divine sign, they do not lay hold of its chief fruit, which is their salvation." — *Jornada*, fol. 53 r-v.

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[2] This is referred to as "Kollam aḻintu", கொல்லம் அழிந்து, i.e. Quilon was ruined, in the Tamil work 'Maturaittala Varalāṛu' (No. 27 of the Chentamil Series). "Kollam aḻintu 501-ām āṇṭu" is the phrase there, which means the 501st year after Quilon was ruined, and it is mentioned as corresponding to the Saka year 1246.

One version of the Malabar Hindu account called Keralolppatti (= origin of Kerala) printed in 1086 M.E. mentions on p. 35 the digging of a *cira*, i.e., a tank (in Quilon) by the kings of Kerala and "the Quilon merchant" in 1 M.E. (824-5 A.D.). This was probably the deepening of the Quilon harbour by the Persian merchant Sabr-Iso of the copper-plate, in that year. In later inscriptions and other records Quilon is designated "Kurakkēṇi-Quilon", to distinguish it from other ancient Quilons in Kerala. The name means Quilon having 'Kural-kēṇi', குரல்க்கேணி, a tank with a *kural*, a neck, i.e., a ship-channel leading into the kēṇi (= tank), viz., the deepened part of the harbour.

[3] E.g. (1) Thomas Knāy (= the rich man Thomas, in Syriac) who founded in Cranganore the city called in Tamil Makōtai, in about 700 A.D. Makōtai may be the Tamilised form of Syriac *Mahoza*, meaning a city, and there were in Iraq two or three ancient cities called Mahoza or Mahuza. (2) "Iravi Korttan of the City of Makōtaiyar" (= of the (Chera) king, or of the people of Makōtai), who in 1320 A.D. was granted by the king the status and title of Maṇigrāmam, i.e. the chief of the merchant guild called Manigramam, correctly Vaṇik-grāmam in Sanskrit, meaning the village or corporation of merchants. (3) In about 400 A.D. a Greek scholar came and lived in Cranganore for six years, studying its soil, climate, etc., and learned its language, Tamil. See this *Journal* for April 1950, pp. 5-6.

It is likely that this "St. Thomas Cross" was an original Persian or Iraqian Cross (with or without inscription?) like the original Persian cross on St. Thomas Mount, and not one of the numerous copies of it made and set up in Malabar in or after 1551, in which it was solemnly set up in the Mount Church under the notion that it was the cross which St. Thomas had erected, and embraced at the point of death.

Gouvea informs us (*ibid.* fol. 60 v., col. 1) that "all the ancient churches" (of Malabar were) "full, all of them, of Crosses after the manner of the cross of the Miracle of Saint Thomas, which they call Saint Thomas' Cross ;" * * * * "And for this Cross it is to be noted that all those which are found in" (the chancels of ?) "the Churches of St. Thomas, ancient ones, or carved on stones, or in the very ancient buildings themselves" (the naves, or outhouses ?) "of the same Churches, are of this shape and made in this form, of the one that sweats" (fol. 79 r, col. 1), since 1557 A.D. in the St. Thomas Mount Church.

And St. Thomas, unlike any other Apostle, or Christian of the first centuries, is said to have set up seven crosses in or outside seven of the 7½ churches built by him in Malabar, the half-church being the crossless one at Thiruvamcode in South Travancore.[4] But according to the *Ency. Brit.*, *s.v.* Chalice, the earliest known Christian symbol is the chalice, the sacramental wine cup sanctioned by Jesus.

[4] There is, however, *no* documentary, or archaeological evidence prior to the 13th century for St. Thomas' sojourn and martyrdom in South India. In 1293 A.D. there was a tomb in Mylapore, Madras, which Muslims claimed as that of a Saracen 'avarian' (= holy man; from Arabic *hawāriy* + Tamil suffix *ān*) come from Nubia (in or after the 7th century A.D., of the Prophet Muhammad), while the Mylapore Christians claimed it at the same time as St. Thomas', adding (*quite contrary* to all other extant St. Thomas documents from the Syriac *Acts* of 200-220 A.D. downwards) that he was killed (not deliberately as a martyr but) accidentally by a Govi (= Pariah) fowler with an arrow aimed by mistake, as Marco Polo tells us in his *Travels,* Vol. II, Bk. III, Ch. 18. His. Ch. 17 adds that the Govis of those days (1293) admitted that it was one of their ancestors that had killed the holy man buried inside the tomb.

Moreover, when in 1523 the Portuguese opened from outside the brick-and-granite-slab-tomb, partly outside and partly inside a Church, they found it quite intact, about 9 feet below ground, and took out from its outer and inner portions what remained (after several centuries of decay) of "the skull, ribs, body-bones, thighbone", etc., of the holy man. These could *not* be St. Thomas', as his *entire* skull and other bones famous in the West from at least 232-3 A.D. were preserved and exhibited at Ortona in Italy in and before that very year 1523, and are now wanted back by Malabar, ignoring or repudiating the bones of 1523 kept in Mylapore, and not sent or taken to Ortona at all. The same person could not die in two entirely different circumstances, or have two skulls and other bones.

In addition to the above repudiation now (and also since some time after 1601 A.D.) of the Mylapore bones, there was, since about 1520, a complete *volte face* by which both Mylapore and Malabar repudiated the age-long (from at least 1293 to *ca.* 1520) account of St. Thomas' (really the Muslim avarian's) accidental death (not as a martyr) at the hands of a Govi, and substituted the account of deliberate murder as a martyr. The latest of the diverse forms of this account, since 16th century, affirms that St. Thomas was killed by an Emprān Brahmin *priest* with a *lance or spear*. The only document anterior to the 16th century which brings in a *priest* in utter disregard of the soldiers, or king of non-Indian documents of A.D. 200 down-

III. KING PALLIVANAVAR'S 6 CROSSES, TRAVANCORE, 317 A.D.

Almost all versions of the Hindu account of ancient Malabar called *Kēraḷōlpatti* mention that a Chera king of Cranganore whose designation Palli-vāṇavar (=he who resided in, or ruled over, a Palli, a *non-Hindu* place of worship) is variously given as Paḷḷi-vāṇar, Paḷḷi-māṇar, Vāṇa Perumāḷ, Bāṇa Perumāḷ, Bāṇa Varman, etc., and whose proper name seems to have been Neelan (=Siva), created a sensation among the Kerala Brahmins by his conversion to Buddhism. See Logan's *Malabar Manual, Malabar Gazetteer,* and other authorities for the above details, and for the division of his kingdom among his under-kings, his retirement to another place in Travancore or to Arabia, and his being claimed by Muslims and Christians (but not by the Jews) as a convert to their religion.

Three Cochin copies of Keralolpatti and other documents on palm-leaf describe his (subsequent) conversion (to Christianity) by one or two missionaries come to Cranganore from Baghdad, and record the date of their coming, in the chronogram "*rauravam dēvarājyam*", which means that in the Malabar Brahmins' opinion "the Kingdom of God" preached by them is really the horrible hell called "*rauravam*" in Sanskrit, and also that the king's[5] land has been converted into hell of the worst type by his conversion (to Buddhism and then to Christianity) in 317 A.D., on Thursday, 14th February, the date denoted by the chronogram.[6] At least two other chronograms seem to appertain to this king, viz:—

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wards, and of the Govi and arrow of the South Indian account current at least down to 1520, is the *Passio Thomae* of about 500 A.D. The contents of this Latin work could have been made known in Malabar and Mylapore by the Portuguese in the 16th century, in which the above *volte face* took place.

Why was part of the tomb of 1523 left outside the wall of the church? Probably to satisfy the rival muslim claimants? And it was the portion containing the head that was left to the Muslims. For digging *from outside* the excavators of 1523 A.D. found the skull bones first.

[5] Dēva in Sanskrit means god, or king. It was "the Kingdom of God" that Jesus and his followers preached as we see from the Bible and later documents.

[6] Chronograms about this king seem to have been current in 1604, for Archbishop Roz of Cranganore recorded in that year that a Cheraman Perumal (= a Chera king in general) "died on 1st March, 1258 years before," i.e. in 346 A.D. Assuming this Perumal to have been the king who granted Thomas Knāy, the founder of Makōtai (see footnote 3) the famous copper-plate charter lost or missing since 1544, the year 345 just before his death has been (after 1604) assigned to that document. But Makōtai is not found mentioned before the 7th-8th century in Tamil works.

1. *Cēramān dēśam prāpa* = the Chera king arrived in the land (that fell to him at the partition of his kingdom, and not in Mecca), the year being 343 A.D.

2. *Bhūvibhāga* = the partition of the land, the year being 343 A.D. itself.

Now which is this land to which that convert was exiled, or retired? It was probably Neelan-pēroor (= the great village of Neelan) south of Cranganore, from which he could exile himself to the former in a boat. The temple outside the walls of which Pallivanavar's grave is located is called Perinjenattu Palli, which means the vihara of Perum-Jina, the Great Jina, i.e., Mahā Buddha. The Buddha too is called *Jina.* Besides, a plot of land very close to that temple and the grave is called Tiruvanchikkalam, which is also the famous name of the capital of Pallivanavar and other Chera kings in Cranganore. The tax on that piece of land north of the grave is paid to the above original capital's temple.

And some 40 years before 1928 (*ca.* 1888) there was dug up at Nīlan-pērūr a bronze statuette *with a Greek cross embossed* on its chest, from the earth under the floor of a building believed by the Hindus to have been built over the tomb of a Cranganore king, a Chera, known among them as Paḷḷi-vānā-perumāḷ, i.e., the Chera King who resided in, or ruled over a Paḷḷi — a Buddhist vihara, or a Christian church. Photos of this statuette were, in a after 1928, published by the present writer in India and Europe (Warsaw).

On digging deeper the workmen (Christians engaged by the Hindus) struck upon a cross sculptured on a granite slab, and they refused to dig further or lift the slab under which they thought Pallivanavar was resting, perhaps in a sitting posture. No study of the cross on the slab, and the things underneath has yet been made. See this *Journal* for April 1948, pp. 27-44.

Besides the above two crosses, one on the statuette, and another on the granite slab covering the grave, there were four other crosses in the same locality, and associated with the same Buddhist-Christian Pallivanavar. One was at the top of the staff in the right hand of the above statuette. It was broken off in the process of the hurried excavation at night for valuables supposed to be in the grave. The fourth cross was on the chest of a fairly big granite statue of Pallivanavar set up outside the building covering the grave. That statue was plucked up years ago and thrown into a tank there. A granite cross was found also fixed to the slab in the grave, during the excavation of *ca.* 1888. The original building over the grave was cross-like in plan, and three-storeyed (symbolising the Triune God ?). When it was in ruins the present small building replaced it some decades ago. The above granite cross was about a foot tall.

The years 317 and 343 A.D. yielded by the above three chronograms in the Hindu documents are subsequent to the conversion of Constantine in October 312, and his edict of toleration in 313; and 343 is posterior also to the "Invention of the Cross" in 326 by Constantine's mother Helena. In 315 Papa the first Catholicos of Seleucia, very near Baghdad, held a Synod, and we may suppose that the missionaries of 317 were sent opportunely to the Buddhist Pallivanavar, hated by the Cranganore Brahmins, and therefore ready to abdicate. (See picture on p. 122).

IV. A TAXILA CROSS

A small equal-limbed cross of stone with a hole at the end of one of its limbs "was turned up by the plough in a field in the borders of the ancient city of Sarkap in Taxila in the year 1935, and given to Mrs. Cuthbert King by the Zamindar who found it. The material of the cross is dark stone of the same geological nature as that used for small trinket boxes believed to date from the 1st to 3rd Century A.D. and now in Taxila Museum. The cross was found with a hole bored in it, which is most unusual", as an article on the cross published in North India says.

The hole indicates that the small cross was meant to be hung from the neck as a sacred object. It may, therefore, be regarded as a Christian cross, and assigned to Constantine's (306-337 A.D.) fourth century, or a later one. The Taxila-Sarkap region where, as historians agree, St. Thomas preached and converted King Gudnaphar of India, viz., the Parthian Gudaphar (=Gondophares, A.D. 19 to about 60) was likely to have had Christians in later centuries also. In about 196 Bardaisan the Syrian notices Christians among the Kaishanaye, i.e., the Kushans, and some or many of these Christians may have been among Kanishka's N.W. Indian Kushans. In about 260 the Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* says that India (= N.W. India, and not the whole of modern India-Pakistan and Burma) and all its own centuries (in N.W. India) received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from St. Thomas (some countries *directly* from him in the first century, and the rest *indirectly* in the 2nd-3rd centuries after his death.) It is probable therefore that in the days (*ca.* 260) of the author there were Christians in N.W. India. In the 5th century (420 to 497) there were bishoprics in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and N.W. India close to them was not unlikely to have had Christians and even bishoprics. And in about 500 A.D. Cosmas found multitudes of Christians among the Huns of N.W. India and "the rest of the Indians." See § VII *infra.*

V. Another Taxila Cross, 3rd Century B.C.

The *Examiner,* a Catholic weekly of Bombay, published in May 1946, the following details: "Only twenty-four miles from Rawalpindi, are the ruins of Taxila, where according to tradition" (recorded in the Syriac *Acts of Thomas,* 200-20 A.D.), "the Apostle St. Thomas visited the Court of King Condophares, who reigned from 20 to 60 A.D. * * * * * On Sunday, 28th April, the Foundation Stone for a new and large Holy Family Hospital was laid there. Some years ago, the local Commissioner, Mr. Cuthbert King, and his wife" (referred to in § IV *ante*) "produced a beautiful drama in the ruins of Taxila, based on these legends."

"Recently at a Red Cross meeting, Major-General Sir Gordon Jolly, Chief Commissioner of the Joint War Association, stated that the Geneva Red Cross with its white background was in existence in India more than 2000 years ago, and continued:—

"Among my treasured possessions has been a piece of carnelian, (a half-inch square), ornamented with a Red Cross on a white ground. This was dug up at Taxila in the Punjab and archaeological evidence shows that it was fashioned there in the 3rd century B.C., more than 2,000 years before the founders of the Geneva Convention adopted this device as their emblem. In view of its historical interest to the members of the Red Cross movement in India, I am giving it to the Indian Red Cross Society."

VI. Other Pre-Christian Crosses

"A cross appeared in the earliest remains of * * * * civilization, for instance on the Mohenjodaro Seals (in Sind) of the fourth millennium B.C. See Seals No. 108, 528 b, Plate CXIV, Vol. III, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization,* by Sir John Marshall and Allan's *Coins of Ancient India,* British Museum, 1936, Plate XXXV, where the same designs appear on the cast coins of the third and second century B.C."

A cross appears on punch-marked Indian coins also. For example an equal-limbed cross sign is found among those on Nandivardhana's punch-marked coins, on the plate illustrating Sri D. D. Kosambi's article, "Chronological Order of Punch-Marked Coins" from the earlier Taxila hoard, JBBRAS, Vol. 24-25, 1948-49. The limbs of the cross are broad, like those of the Taxila cross of Section IV, and at its centre is a circle with a dot at the centre.

Four smaller circles with horns touch the four sides of the central circle. This may represent the Sun-god, while the horned circles may each stand for another god (Mercury ?), or the Bull of Siva. These are ancient symbols found on other punch-marked coins in the same Taxila hoard, along with a + cross.

VII. Bania Beri Cave Cross in C.P., 6th-10th Century

"In Bania Beri Cave" (within 5 miles from Pachmarhi, a proto-neo-lithic site with rock-paintings, in the Mahadeo Hills in the Central Provinces, and south of the Vindhyas and upper Narbada) "is depicted a large Cross around which is a group of men, most of them holding in their hands, what may be a raised umbrella (Plate XI). It looks like a 'Cross-worship' scene. The cross represented here may be a primitive or conventionalized form of svastika, a sacred symbol in India (as also in several other countries) from the earliest times. Below the 'Cross-worship' scene are three animals, probably cows ...... The wavy line below these animals may probably represent a stream, on the other side (bottom) of which is a long row of small animals, probably goats. In the same cave is painted another cross (Plate XII A), composed of small triangles, which have a look of having been made out of stencil (?)."

The above is Sri B. B. Lal's description of the Cave-painting, on pp. 47-8, of *Archaeology in India,* published by the Government of India in 1950. On page 49 of *ibid.,* the age of the painting is given as "the period between the sixth and tenth centuries" A.D. From Plate XI in that book it is seen that the cross is at least as tall as any of the men dancing around it. It is an equal limbed cross technically known as the Greek cross, though in the painting the vertical portion appears shorter through perspective representation. The limbs are at least as wide as any of the dancers' chest. There is no sign of its being a *Svastika ;* it appears to be a regular Christian cross of the earliest type, the Greek cross, like that on the Pallivanavar statuette of about 330 A.D., or the Mount Cross, both dealt with in previous sections.

It may be added that in the sixth century Cosmas Indikopleustes (*ca.* 525) found Christians and a Persian bishop in Kalliana (= Kalyan, near Bombay), and "so likewise (multitudes of Christians, as he says) among the Bactrians and Huns and Persians, and the rest of the Indians", that is, the Indians in the parts of India other than Male (= Malabar), and Kalyan, and the White Hun territories of W. and N.W. India, in all of which three regions he found multitudes of Christians, as well as the Indians in Mylapore and other places on the east coast of India, of whom he says he had no information.

And between 628 and 643 A.D. a Metropolitan was appointed in India. "The Christians of India proper increased in number to such an extent that a special Metropolitan see with some six to twelve suffragan bishops had to be created for them. This was done, according to Ibn-at-Tayib" (the Nestorian canonist, who died in 1043) "by the Patriarch Isho-Yahb II (628-43). * * * * * in rank the Metropolitan of India took precedence of that of China, and the Metropolitan of China of that of Samarkand." See Mingana's *Early Spread of Christianity in India,* Manchester, 1926, p. 64. The seat of this Metropolitan of about 635 A.D. is not found mentioned. It was perhaps in the Hun region mentioned as a Christian area a century before by Cosmas, and the actual locality might have been Gandispur. For "Gandispur (modern Shahabad in the Panjab, which tradition associates with St. Thomas and where, later, there was a famous medical school" (according to Barthold, *Zur Geschichte,* p. 27) "is referred to by Elias metropolitan of Damascus as the seat of a metropolitan in A.D. 893, and is also included in the list given by Amr, A.D. 1349." ...... See Yule, *Cathay,* III, pp. 22 ff. St. Isidore (*d.* 636) of Seville, Spain, a contemporary of this first Metropolitan of India (*ca.* 635) says that Saint "Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes up to the furthest eastern parts (*ad extremam orientalem plagam*), and there preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom. Indeed, being pierced with a lance, he died at Calamina, a town of India, and was honourably buried there on the 12th before the Kalends of January" (December 21). According to his own *Etymologiarum Liber,* Parthia extended "from the Tigris to the Indus." That "town of India" could not be in S.E. India; and fairly resembling Calamina in sound, there are the ancient Kalawan, and Kala-ka-Serai, both in Taxila in the Panjab, where historians now unanimously locate king Gudnaphar of the *Acts of Thomas* (200-220 A.D.) as the Scytho-Parthian Gudaphar (Gondophares). The *Acts* leads us to infer that the capital of King Mazdai (a regular Old-Persian name, and *not* South Indian), whose soldiers killed St. Thomas, was very close to Gudaphar's city, the distance between them being only about a day's journey by bullock cart.[7]

[7] No kings with Parthian or Old-Persian names are known, or likely to have been ruling, in Malabar or Mylapore, and no South Indian place-name resembling Calamina has yet been discovered. Besides, a tomb of a Muslim Saracen come from Nubia, or of St. Thomas of Palestine, or one claimed (as in 1293) by both Muslims and Christians is not known to have

VIII. BUDDHIST CAVE CROSSES IN BURMA, 1287 A.D.

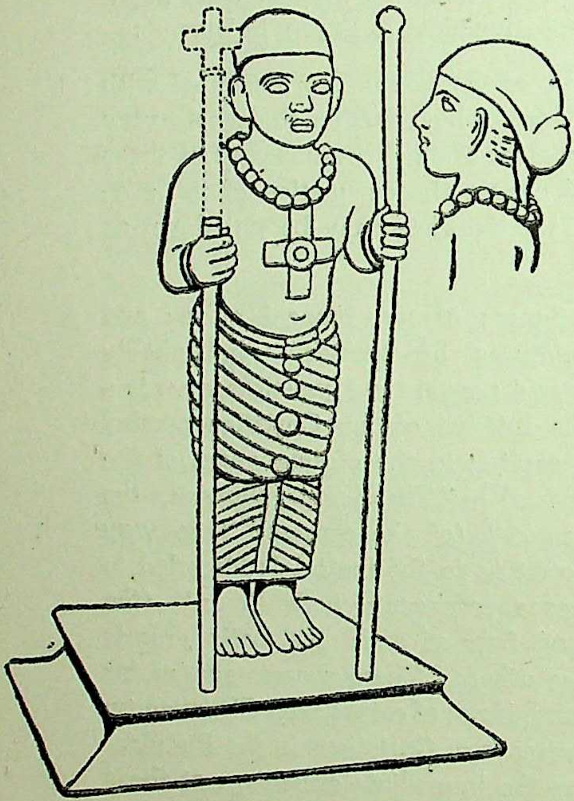
Though not so ancient as the non-Christian and Christian crosses of the 4th millennium B.C. to 6th-10th century A.D. discussed in the previous sections, the 8 crosses of Greek (four) and Latin types (four) painted on a wall of the Buddhist cave attributed in tradition to King Kyanzitha of Burma (A.D. 1084-1112) may be dealt with here.

The Report for 1922 of Mr. Charles Duroiselle, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, gives us the following particulars about the paintings in that cave close to Pagan, in Burma :—

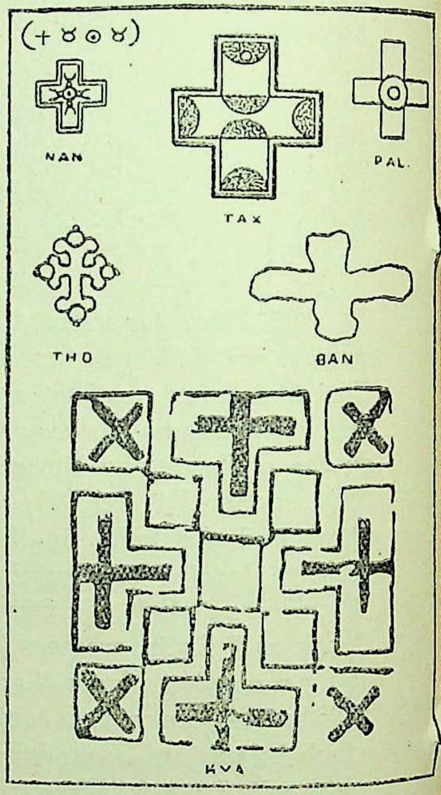
"Some of the interior walls of the cave are ornamented with a variety of well-executed frescoes, which are on the whole very well preserved. All do not represent Mongol personages, but those that do were probably painted during the occupation of the city, and their fall" (*sic*, for *date?*) "therefore may be put down as 1287. * * * * *

"35. Not far from the figures of the Mongol officer and soldier, * * * * are found pictures of crosses, unmistakably Christian crosses; as has been said above, the Kyanzitha cave is a Buddhist monument, hence the interest of the Christian symbol on the walls, at the Burmese capital, in the closing years of the 13th century." * * * (The crosses) — "They are yellowish, the fibres and the knots in the wood" (of the crosses) "are very realistic, leaving no possible doubt as to the materials intended to be represented. * * * Our fresco represents both kinds" (the Greek and Latin crosses), "and four of each, the Latin crosses being somewhat bigger than the others. These crosses are, as far as is known, the earliest testimony, if not of established Christianity, which I doubt, at least of the presence of Christians in the Buddhist metropolis." * * * "That among the immediate entourage of these Tartar Emperors (of 12th and 13th centuries), among their troops and officers, there was a large number of Christians cannot be doubted; historical records, as a matter of fact, show this to have been the case. * * * * The conditions during the reign of Kublai Khan (1260-1294) whose troops took Pagan in 1287, were in no

existed in Mylapore in any of the first 12 centuries before Marco Polo (1293). A pilgrim Theodore visited in about 590 A.D. the tomb of St. Thomas at the place (called Calamina by St. Isidore about 40 years later) "in India where he first rested" (as distinct from Edessa which too he visited, and where St. Thomas' bones were then resting for the second time), and described it (then devoid of bones, yet held sacred) to St. Gregory of Tourns in France, way different. * * * * He himself had a Christian bodyguard of 1000 warriors, and Christians were to be found among his troops and no doubt among his officers. * * * and Morco Polo is quite explicit as to the existence of Nestorians in Yunnan in the 13th Century."



Sketch of bronze statuette of Paḷḷīvāṇavar, Cera King, 317 A.D., who became a "Bauddha" (see pp. 115-117)



NAN.—Nandivardhana's cross (p. 118)
TAX.—Taxila cross (p. 117)
PAL.—Paḷḷīvāṇavar's cross (p. 116)
THO.—St. Thomas Mt. cross (p. 111)
BAN.—Bania Beri cave cross (p. 119)
KYA.—Kyanzitha cave crosses (p. 121)

Annals of Old Madras

Judges : *Sir Charles Grey*

BY

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

As one turns over the saffron-tinged, brittle and worm-eaten volumes in the libraries, his mind and imagination strikes upon some name in a report which for some unaccountable reason arouses in him exceptional interest. What was this man like in flesh and blood ? How did he distinguish himself ? Queries like these come thronging to his mind. He turns up the usual sources for information. Rarely does he find information that would satisfy his curiosity. But in regard to the subject of this memoir it has been possible to get some idea of his personality. Very tall in figure, in build quite magnificent with arms almost reaching the knees, with chiselled features, well-set eyes, a Roman nose, a clean-shaven face, and a high forehead crowned with abundant hair not parted or brushed, he was smart in appearance and of studious habits and sociable qualities. He was a man of strong talents. He possessed a chaste classical taste and a conciliatory unassuming manner. He lived for four score years, even then not a long term when it is remembered Sir Philip Hutchins, Judge, High Court, Madras, (1883-1886) lived to be 90 years old, and Sir William Burton, Judge, Supreme Court, Madras, (1844-1857) who afterwards rose to be President of the Legislative Council, New South Wales, Australia, lived to a ripe old age of 94.

Charles Edward Grey was born in 1785. He was a younger son of R. W. Grey of Backworth, Northumberland, sometime High Sheriff. He was educated at the University College, Oxford. He graduated in 1806. In 1808 he obtained the English prize essay and was elected Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar 1811 (Bombay in the days of George IV by F. D. Drewitt, p. 84-n). He was a relation of Earl Grey, the British Prime Minister, but opposed to him in politics (Jacquemont's Letters from India, Vol. II, p. 181).

In 1817 he was appointed Commissioner in Bankruptcy. On May 17, 1820 he was appointed puisne judge, Supreme Court, Madras. On appointment he was Knighted. He took the Oaths of Office and Allegiance on September 19, 1821. On August

18, 1824 an order was received transferring him to the Supreme Court, Calcutta, to succeed Sir F. Macnaghten (Asiatic Journal Old Series, Vol. XVIII, p. 329) formerly of the Madras Bench and created a Baronet in 1836. But Sir Charles continued in Madras till 1825 when he was appointed Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Calcutta (Asiatic Journal Old Series, Vol. XIX, p. 213).

At a special Court held on June 7, 1825, when Sir Ralph Palmer, the new Chief Justice, took his seat and after the usual oaths were administered to him by Sir Edmond Stanley, Chief Justice resigned, in the presence of Sir Charles Grey, the Advocate-General, in the name of the Bar, addressed Sir Charles in a speech. In the course of his reply, his Lordship observed, "The members of the Court....are launched suddenly among new elements. They have laws, usages and circumstances to deal with of which their knowledge or apprehension must of necessity be imperfect. Both we and you have many difficulties to contend with from which those are exempt who hold corresponding situations at home. Under all circumstances and in all difficulties, it is the duty and the character of the English Bar to speak boldly and distinctly for their clients. If I have ever given offence, I have seldom taken any, and I certainly feel some satisfaction that it will be believed by you all that I have never indulged a resentment of anything which has arisen here that has lasted beyond the going down of the sun" (Asiatic Journal Old Series, Vol. XX, p. 713).

On Thursday the 16th June, the Madras Literary Society entertained at dinner their President the Honourable Sir C. Grey at the garden of Mr. White. The President who was accompanied by Sir Ralph Palmer was conducted to the hall where he was welcomed by the Vice-Presidents the Honourable Mr. Graeme and Arch Deacon Vaughan and other members of the Society. Dinner was almost immediately announced. After "The King" had been drunk with the usual honours, the toast to Sir Charles Grey was proposed by the Honourable Mr. Graeme. The toast was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm; immediately after it, the honourable the President rose and returned thanks in a neat speech. Sir Charles then proposed the health of Mr. Graeme and also of Sir Thomas Munro, the patron of the Society. The healths of Lady Grey, Lady Munro, Sir Ralph Palmer, etc. were afterwards drunk; the party did not break till a late hour.

On the forenoon of June 29, 1825 Sir Charles landed at Chandpaul Ghaut and in the "afternoon His Lordship took his seat on the bench under the usual salutes". (Asiatic Journal Old Series, Vol. XX, p. 706).

In 1829 he expressed himself against allowing the natives to sit on the juries.

In September and October 1831 Sir Charles was at Penang.

He resigned from the Bench on July 2, 1832 after ten years' judicial service which gave him a right to a pension for life for 50,000 francs-£ 2000 (Jacquemont's Letters from India, Vol. II, p. 181). The very great talents of Sir C. Grey will find employment in politics. His short hours of leisure are for European literature". (Ibid. Vol. I, p. 135).

On the morning of July 2, 1832, Sir Charles, accompanied by Sir John Franks and Sir Edward Ryan, made his appearance on the Bench at the usual hour for the judges taking their seats in the Court. His Lordship was dressed in plain clothes instead of his official costume. His Lordship took leave of the Court and the Bar in a short speech :

"Gentlemen, I have come upon the bench for the last time and for the purpose only of bidding you farewell. I have sat upon this bench for full seven years. During that period, many important cases have been decided, there has been a fuller development of public feeling than in former times, a freer discussion by the press, and changes are going on to which this Court, like other institutions, must, in some degree, be accommodated. If I was conscious of having given any one just offence, I can say with truth that, on this occasion, when I am about to separate myself from you, and that there are many here whom I shall probably never see again on this side of the grave, I could ask his forgiveness with as little reluctance as if I were lying on the bed of death. But my heart tells me that I have done injustice to no man, nor have intentionally given any one offence. There are many, I hope, who will be as fortunate as myself in being able to return to their native land after having run their career in this and with whom, in circumstances more favourable to the intercourse of private life, I may cultivate an acquaintance, which I shall be happy and proud to renew. To my brother judges, I can scarcely trust myself to say much upon this occasion. You all know that it has been our principle and practice to express our opinions upon every case fully and freely, without any regard to its being known what shades or degrees of difference existed amongst us. It will be found, upon examination, that the unrestrained discussion and open decision of cases has not increased the number of appeals to a higher tribunal. I hope that the friendship which I commenced with my brethren only in this country, but which has never for a moment been interrupted, may last as long as my life".

His Lordship, at the conclusion of the address, having shaken hands with his fellow judges and bowed low to the bar, immediately withdrew. (Asiatic Journal, New Series, Vol. X, Part II, pp. 2 and 3).

On July 4, 1832 he took an affectionate leave of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, of which he was President. The Society was indebted to him for a valuable cabinet of mineral and geological specimens. He had further presented it with specimens from the Himalayas and Penang. He had also made valuable additions to its library.

"The Chief Justice, a man of highest talent in his difficult profession of English Judge — a profession assuredly of the gravest cost, with also the gravest appearance......, a stout man of forty-five, who is considered the gravest in all India, where he holds the second rank and whom I found to be the pleasantest man in the world......, that pearl of judges is consulted by the Governor-General on the Politics of the country, although his functions are purely judicial" (Jacquemont's Letters from India, Vol. I, pp. 85-86). "Sir Charles", says Pearson, Advocate-General of Bengal, "is perhaps the cleverest man in the country ......He is extremely gay and what surprises me most is always hearing people speak of his icy gravity".

In 1835 he was sent to Canada as one of the three Commissioners despatched to investigate the causes of discontent, his colleagues being Lord Gosford and Sir George Gipps. He left Canada (November 1836) before the rest of the Commission, and, on his return to England, received the Grand Cross of Hanover. In 1837 he contested Tynemouth, and, though unsuccessful at the election, gained the seat next year (1838) when his opponent Sir G. F. Young was unseated on petition. From 1838 till the dissolution in 1841, he was a steady supporter of the Whig administration.

In 1841 he was appointed Governor of Barbados, St. Vincent, Tobago. Trinidad and St. Lucia; he remained in this office till 1846. From 1847 to 1853 he was Governor of Jamaica where he enjoyed a wide popularity. He succeeded the Eighth Lord Elgin as Governor (Calcutta Old and New by H. E. A. Cotton, p. 724). During the time of the discussion on the Sugar duties, his despatches homeward were in favour of the maintenance of a pro-

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tective or rather differential tariff. He was inclined to promote the immigration of labour from Africa to Jamaica.

He died at Tunbridge Wells (at the Oaks, Surrey says Mr. G. S. White) on June 1, 1865.

On April 30, 1821 he married at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Samuel Clarke Jervoise Bart., of Idsworth Park, Hampshire (Asiatic Journal Old Series, Vol. XI, p. 641). She died in 1850 during Sir Charles' Governorship of Jamaica.

Sir Charles was fond of chess. "I used to go", says Jacquemont in the Letters from India, Vol. I, pp. 101 and 106, "en voisin and without ceremony to the Chief Justice of India, Sir Charles Grey, to chat over a game at chess, about India......He views India from a higher point than any other man. I have gained a great deal by frequenting his house. He has dared to give me coffee on the chess-table and I have dared to ask his lady to sing some Italian airs which I have heard a hundred times given by her in the finest style". "She is the prettiest and most graceful in the world ......" "handsome, clever and amiable". Of her beauty and attractions Mr. Pearson, Advocate-General, Bengal, used to speak in impassioned terms.

Sir Charles had four sons and three daughters (Vide Asiatic Journal Old Series, Volumes XIV, p. 95, XVI, p. 531, XIX, p. 845, XXVII, p. 249, and New Series, Vol. XXXI, Part II, p. 91).

This learned Chief Justice is also to be remembered for his masterly report (1829-30) about the working of the Law Courts in India. This he submitted at the invitation of the Imperial Government at Calcutta. His report, in which his brother judges Sir John Franks and Sir Edward Ryan concurred, revealed the utter want of connection between the Supreme Court (The King's Court) and the Sudder and Foujdari Adawlut Courts (The Company's Courts) and between the legal process they respectively employed. The defects were in the laws themselves, in the authority for making them and in the manner of executing them. This report attracted the attention of the English Parliament. He had also suggested the amalgamation of the two sets of courts. This was recommended by the Indian Law Commission 1834. When the Government of India was taken over by the Crown in 1858 by laying on the East India Company the blame for the Great Indian Mutiny in 1857 the work of amalgamation went on apace. The Code of Civil Procedure (1859), The Indian Penal Code (1860), and The Code of Criminal Procedure (1861) paved the

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way for a uniform system of procedure in Civil and Criminal Courts. In 1862 High Courts of Judicature were opened in the Presidency Towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The High Court replaced the Supreme and the Sudder Courts and amalgamated them. By this fusion the High Court became a Court of Appeal, Reference and Revision for the whole presidency with a net work of Provincial Courts linked to it while at the same time it adopted the Original Civil, Criminal, Testamentary, and admiralty Jurisdiction exercised by Supreme Court. It will thus be seen that the suggestions of this learned Chief Justice have given a concrete shape to the High Court as it functions today.

Anglo-Dutch Relations in India Proper The Earliest Phase 1602-27

(*Concluded*)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A.

CONCORD WITH THE DUTCH

As early as 1610 Holland had proposed that the two Companies might be united. But the Dutch were supported by the State and the English were not. The Dutch Company had 51 ships in the East Indies, a stock of £ 900,000, and owed £ 400,000 in interest; the English did not want their small fortune to be mixed up with such a big body, and see the small body swallowed up by the larger. While the Directors of the Dutch Company complained to the States-General in 1611 that the English had come to reap what they had sown, the English East India Company complained to King James of the injuries done to their ships in the East Indies. These complaints being brought to the Directors were declared groundless in their Assembly of August 1612. The rivalry in the buying of spices led however in November 1613 to the proposal to co-operate with the English Company and to invoke the intervention of the States-General for that purpose.

In 1614 King James commissioned Sir Henry Wotton, his Ambassador Extraordinary to the States of the United Provinces, and others to treat with the Commissaries of Their High Mightinesses concerning the differences between the two nations "on account of the free commerce of our subjects to the East Indies being obstructed by the Hollanders and, also on account of the Dutch claims to the North Sea fishery." The commercial rivalry in the East had developed into an armed struggle. In 1617 the complaints against the Dutch became incessant. From almost every factory in the East the same account is repeated. "The Flemings thunder it most terrible in these parts", wrote the President of the English factors at Surat in January. "Their untruths are daily more discovered and they are rather feared than respected by their brutal carriage", wrote another factor. "The Hollanders are mortal enemies to the English in their trade", wrote a third. By 1620 eleven laden English sail had been captured by the Dutch while the English company had only taken the *Black Lion* worth 71,000 reals. Almost all the captured English ships were laden with gold and bullion.

The quarrel between the English and the Dutch Companies was treated by James I merely as a dispute between two private companies who were foolish enough to disturb the peace. James was genuinely desirous of removing all grievances and used his authority so impartially as to decide all questions in 1619 absolutely in favour of the Dutch. Of the real nature of the dispute, he seemed to be totally unconscious. On the other hand, the Dutch felt that the injury which the English did to the Dutch Company by the underselling of spices was intolerable. Nevertheless, in 1618, the Dutch in India were strong enough to expel all other European nations, and they sent more European merchants to India than perhaps all the rest of Europe together.

Conflicting reports about the union between the two companies reached the merchants in the East. Towards the close of 1618, Augustine Spalding aboard the *Unicorn* in Masulipatam road wrote to the English Company as follows:—" They hear nothing of an agreement with the Dutch." But the *Peppercorn* met near Engano a Dutch ship, the *Orangeboom,* commanded by Captain Hart who told them that the two Companies were accorded and delivered a letter written from the Cape by Thomas Barwick stating that the Dutch delegate had arrived in England before his departure to conclude an agreement. They were hopeful therefore to hear shortly that matters had been settled, but the Dutch factors here stated that there was no accord, that the *Star* had been captured by three Dutch ships after a six hours' fight and that Coen had sent three of his best vessels in pursuit of the *Jourdain.* The English complained that the Dutch in those parts were grown so insolent that there was little hope to be had of any agreement where their strength was superior, for they did aim to be sole masters of the Indies. The Dutch contended that they had spent much and sacrificed many lives. The English replied that a reckoning could be made for the money and, for one Dutchman killed in the East, twenty Englishmen had died in the Low Countries to drive the Spaniards and make Holland a free state. One writer,[21] however, says that it was the Dutch who repeated their previous offer for a union of trade with the English that common cause might be made against the Spanish Portuguese and a monopoly secured to the combined companies on the plea of the rivalry about to rise from the formation of an East India Association in France and likewise in Denmark. But again the idea was rejected. It was to guard against the antagonism of the Dutch that a fleet of nine ships of which six were of considerable size was sent under the command of Sir Thomas Dale. Hostilities were seldom long intermitted. Even while the nations at home were in alliance, their subordinates in the Indies were more or less openly at strife unless indeed their joint influence was needed against the Portuguese whose powers of aggression and even defence were now however almost neutralised by their disorganised condition.

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[21] Martin.

Whispers of the accord between England and Holland began to reach India by July 1619. Cornelis Hart, the skipper or master of the Dutch vessel, the *Orangeboom*, brought the news that the two companies of Holland and England were united and that he had letters for each of the Presidents. As the Dutch ships came a month or six weeks after the English, the English merchants thought the news might be true although they found it hard to believe.[22] The Dutch informant maintained that eight ships were to follow out of England and as many from Holland. The Surat merchants were requested to inform their comrades at Masulipatam by express message if they had news of the certainty of the peace by the newly arriving ships so that they might know how to regulate the affairs of the Company. Apparently it took a longer time for definite news to reach India. For though the treaty was actually concluded on the 2nd of June 1619, even as late as the 7th October 1619, the English factors at Ahmedabad had no information. "The expected pacification twixt the Dutch and us is not, it seems, concluded nor do the Company advise aught concerning it." The next day the Surat factors informed their brethren at Masulipatam that no pacifications had been concluded with the Dutch. Meanwhile, they were feeling that a union was inevitable. "Our controversies with the Dutch are come to such a height as without the uniting of both companies will hardly be reconciled which, though the Dutch Company has endavoured both by surprisal of our master's ships abroad and solicital at home, is not yet concluded."

By the terms of the agreement promulgated in Europe on the 27th September 1619 and announced in India by the 9th December, half the trade with Pulicat was surrendered to the English who were to bear half the cost of the Pulicat fort. After the union, it was decided that two war ships with good capital should nevertheless be sent to the Coromandel Coast. The provision made for war ships, even after the concluding of the treaty with the English, lends colour to the view that, in spite of these agreements, the Dutch did not consider it superfluous to be ready against the surprises of the English friends and that there were doubts whether the Dutch were to derive much satisfaction from the treaty. The actual working of the accord at Pulicat was not satisfactory. The English felt aggrieved that sufficient concessions were not shown to them while the Dutch were suspicious. For accommodating the English in Pulicat with houseroom, warehouses etc., the Dutch let the English have only what the former could conveniently spare; only where there was sufficient room for both were both to share, the English paying their share of the charges of building the houses. In other places, the English were to build for themselves within the forts where convenient or outside where not. The Dutch were however suspicious, and on the 12th August 1621 the Dutch Governor-General wrote to his subordinate at Masulipatam directing him to discontinue the practice at Pulicat and elsewhere of buying cloth jointly with the English. The suspicion was however by no means confined to the Dutch. Roe entertained equal suspicions about the latter. He felt that, while the Hollanders were kind in their outward behaviour, their performance was to be doubted. Clear indications of unfriendliness on the part of the Dutch began to occur. They refused to carry to Jackatra the calicoes brought in the previous season by the English from Golconda.[23]

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[22] Letter of George Hall.

The treaty has been condemned alike by English and Dutch historians. "The speculation of making the two companies politically equal and commercially unequal," says Bruce, "was felt to be impracticable. The treaty was thus only a temporary expedient to preserve the pacific connection in Europe between England and the States, and turned out to be the true source of the violence and plunder which subsequently disgraced the Dutch transactions at Amboyna."[24] On the other hand, Dutch historians express wonder that the Directors could have agreed to the treaty of 1619 whereby the decision in all matters of Government and trade was left to a Council of Defence which was half constituted of strangers so that the Government in India was subordinated to this Council and the English were allowed the benefits of the trade and of the possession of a fort on the coast of Coromandel for which they had done nothing. The so-called treaty of Defence of 1619, however, freed the English in India from active hostilities on the part of the Dutch and gave them a right to the shelter of the Dutch fortress and a share of the trade. The Dutch were not in a hurry to make the financial restitution stipulated in the treaty. The exact status of the English in the Dutch settlements produced an acrimonious controversy. The English complained that they were made answerable to the Dutch tribunals and forced to pay excise and other duties. After the massacre of Amboyna, the English withdrew from Pulicat to Masulipatam.[25]

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[23] Letter from Thomas Brockedon, Augustine Spalding and George Muschamp at Batavia to the English Company in July 1620. Hague Transcripts quoted in *English Factories* — *vide* letter from Matthew Duke at Masulipatam to the Company, November 15th, 1620.

[24] Bruce: *Annals of the East India Company.*

The defects of the 1619 treaty were obvious. There was no similarity between a great military and naval organisation like the Dutch Company and a body of traders like the English whose capital was small and who were entirely dependent on the political vagaries of an impecunious sovereign whose dearest wish at the time was to cultivate close relations with the very power in defiance of whose prohibition the East India Company's trade was carried on. The agreement received a fresh sanction at another conference held in London in 1622-23, but it never was a working arrangement. The bitter ill-feeling that had arisen between the Dutch and the English was not to be allayed by the diplomatic subterfuge of crying peace when there was no peace.[26]

Immediately after its conclusion, the treaty with all related papers was sent to Jans Pieterszoon Coen, the Duch Governor-General at Batavia, by the Yacht *Vrede,* and it was recommended to him that the loss sustained by throwing open the trade to the English should be made up for by the advantages to be derived from fresh fields of trade like the raw silk and diamond in Bijapur and Surat and in other good and necessary ways for spreading the Company's private trade.

The following is the agreement concluded on April 13, 1621 between the English and the Dutch Presidents at Batavia for regulating the joint trade at Pulicat.[27]

(1) The Dutch authorities will either provide the English factors with a house (charging a reasonable rent for the same)

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[25] In 1623 Captain Traverson, nine other Englishmen, nine Japanese and one Portuguese sailor were seized at Amboyna in the East Indies under the accusation of a conspiracy to supervise the garrison and expel the Dutch. After trial, they were pronounced guilty and executed. The Dutch who were probably led away by their feelings used torture. But they believed they were right. The English were permitted to retire from the Dutch settlement without paying any dues.

[26] Bruce : *Annals of the East India Company..*

[27] *Treaties,* Vol. I, page 109.

or allot a site on which they may build for themselves and in the meanwhile will find them convenient lodgings.

(2) The English merchants will inform the Dutch what quantities of cloth they desire to buy. If the latter intend to purchase any of the same kind, the goods will be bought jointly at a price agreed upon and afterwards divided.

(3) The English share of the charges and maintenance of the fort and the wages of the garrison is fixed by the seventh article of the Treaty of Defence. If they cannot furnish the victuals or munitions of war required, they will pay for any brought by the Dutch from Batavia at the rate fixed up for the Moluccas, Amboyna and Banda. Provisions brought in the country will be charged at cost price.

(4) Damages to the fort, its ordnance, provisions, etc., will be repaired at their joint expense.

(5) The wages and maintenance of the Dutch merchants and other inferior persons shall not be charged as garrison expenses.

(6) The servants of both Companies are expressly prohibited from private trade in cloth under penalty of confiscation of the goods and further punishment.

(7) Although these common charges may strictly be held to commence from the publication of the treaty, the Dutch have agreed to waive for the present any claim for expenditure anterior to the arrival of the English at Pulicat.

(8) The Dutch will render to the English at Pulicat a monthly account of the charges for the garrison, and the latter will thereupon pay their share to the Dutch Governor.[28]

Though a spirit of conciliation creditable to both sides was clearly discernible in the conditions agreed upon for the joint prosecution of the trade at Pulicat, the agreement with the English did not work out well. Despite the conciliatory nature of the terms of agreement, cleavage was inevitable. The Dutch effected movements of troops at their pleasure without the knowledge or consent of the English. Joint purchase of cloth at Pulicat by the Dutch and English was discountenanced by the Governor-General. "We are not bound to do so by the contract and we do not consider it advisable to bind ourselves in the matter ; so do your best without making the English any wiser than they are. We again warn you not to trust them in the least for we find it productive of no good.

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[28] Carpentier and Dedel signed for the English and Fundland and Brockedon for the English. Foster : *English Factories*, Vol. I, page 253.

It is also desirable that they should live outside rather than inside the fort. Do not let them infringe on your jurisdiction, honour and prerogative. Make them pay from month to month the half of all the expenses of the fort and garrison of Pulicat, and do not agree to the payment of any portion here (unless it should be to your advantage). In this way we shall avoid the necessity of running after the English and they on the other hand will have to come to us."

John Hatch, master of the *Bee*, was censured by the Company's authorities in England for having carried himself very weakly in the fight with the Flemings. As the Council of Defence began to sit, English factors were sent to Pulicat which was protected by Fort Geldria and a Dutch garrison for insisting on their claim for a share in the trade. The Dutch, without absolutely refusing to admit them, stated that the accommodation they could give to the English within the fort would depend upon its being convenient for themselves, but that they might build a house without the fort for their own accommodation and trade, provided they agreed to defray their proportion of the charges of the garrison. The addition of a proportion of the charges of the garrison to the expenses of building a factory made the plan impracticable for the English who therefore gave up Pulicat and decided to fix a factory at Petapoli "as this place was then disconnected with the Dutch settlement."

In October 1621 the English in Surat prepared to attack the Portuguese in Persia on the pretext that they were taking a firm stand against the allied enemies of the English and the Dutch. On the ground of the treaty, the English President urgently required that the *Sampson* and the *Wiesp* should accompany. The *Wiesp* was not yet come. But the Council thought it good that the *Sampson* should go although this was being loaded because all goods of Agra, Mandoe, Kambay and Ahmedabad were not yet come and because otherwise the *Sampson* would have many of the crew sick because of lack of necessary beverage. After instructions were definitely given for the ship, Van den Broecke went to the English Commander and requested that the Dutch ship should carry the Vice-Admiral's flag. But they suggested that two of their flags should wave on the big topmast and that he should be one of the Vice-Admirals. Van den Brocke did not agree and the *Sampson* did not accompany.

On the expiry of the truce of Antwerp in April 1621, the Dutch were again formally at war with the King of Spain and Portugal. The Dutch and the English as a result of the treaty of 1619 now resolved to act in concert, and a joint fleet was despatched in the autumn of 1621 under Admirals Dedel and Fitzherbert to blockade the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar coast. The English undertook to prepare three ships by the 15th October 1621 for taking part in this cruise on the Malabar coast. They also promised to add their pinnace, the *Dragon's Claw,* if she could be got ready in time. The Dutch undertook to send *Little Enkhuisen* with the fleet, making five ships and two pinnaces on the Dutch side and three ships (the *Exchange, Anne and* one pinnace) on the English. The following were the instructions by the United Council of Defence at Batavia for Jacob Dedell, Admiral, and Humphrey Fitzherbert, Vice-Admiral of the squadron "Ordained to sail for the coast of Malabar and Goa", "for disabling our common enemies' furtherance of trade upon the coast of Malabar and restriction of the decayed India trade in the kingdom of Great Britain and the United Netherlands." "The Council of United Defence has decided to despatch nine ships and two pinnaces with 1139 men viz 754 on the Dutch and 385 on the English vessels. Dedell was made Admiral with his flag in the *Good Fortune* and *Fitzherbert* Vice-Admiral in the *Royal Exchange.* All important matters were to be settled by a council consisting of the Admiral, Vice-Admiral and principal officers. The arrangements for succession in case of the death of Admiral and Vice-Admiral were specified. Justice was to be administered by Dedell and his particular council or by Fitzherbert and his particular council according as the offender was a Dutchman or Englishman. The fleet was sent expressly 'to doe the Portuguese all the spoyle that may be and to destroy their carracks and gallions.' It was suggested that it would be best for them to sail along the coast from Cape Comorin to Cochin and thence to Goa. They were free to pay a visit to Calicut to obtain information and to see whether the Zamorin was disposed to send a fleet of frigates to assist in attacking the Portuguese, but they were not to wait any time for that purpose as it was important to surprise the enemy if possible. If on arriving at Goa they found the Carracks safe under the protection of the forts, they were to cruise in front of the harbour until the end of March or the coming of the monsoon. They might then, if time permitted, go to the Persian Gulf to surprise the galleons there and afterwards proceed to Mozambique or the Camoron Islands to winter. With the end of the Westerly monsoon they were to return to the Malabar coast to wait for the Carracks and continue the blockade. Although the main purpose of the fleet was to damage the Portuguese, opportunities for trade were not to be neglected. "If so be it should happen that any of those kings would trade with one of the nations, whether Netherlanders or English, the same shall extend to the service and benefit of both companies, the one not to exclude the other." The ships were to be kept together as far as possible, to be cautious in attack poysing courage and good foresight in equal ballaunce; but once engaged to stand by one another to the uttermost. When the object of the expedition had been attained or the attempt abandoned, the Dutch might send a ship or two to procure people and slaves and either side might detach one or two vessels to Surat."

The following are the resolutions of the Council of Defence. "The Dutch having furnished the larger portion of the fleet, it was agreed that their extra charges should be divided with the English subject to the charges being approved by the Companies in Europe; also that the profit or loss of the voyage and any prizes taken shall be equally divided. Trade was to be attempted on the Malabar Coast, but without prejudice to the main object of the expedition. The Dutch were to be allowed at the close of the operations to send certain of their ships to one place or other, to produce blacks and slaves to people the islands of Banda, Batavia and other places; likewise either side might then send a ship or two to Surat or the whole or part of the fleet might proceed thither if the Council so decided." The English *Bear* which had been captured by the Dutch having arrived from the coast of Coromandel, the Dutch General desired to know whether the English committee would accept her. They referred him in reply to their former answers. "Wherefore they might not accept the aforesaid ship nor the rest of their ships otherwise than satisfaction for them in ready money." Supplementary instructions for the voyage to the Malabar coast occur in the letter of President Fursland and Thomas Brockedon at Batavia to Captain Fitzherbert, dated October 6, 1621.[29] These instructions contain precautions for the proper division of the prize goods. He was to be frugal in expenses for refreshing at any places on the Coast (not exceeding the Company's orders to give men but fewer fresh meals in the week).[30]

Letters of Van den Broecke belonging to this period mention the fact that the English who had previously betaken themselves to plundering now availed themselves of the opportunity to throw all the blame on the Dutch.

On the 2nd December the Dutch and the English set sail together for Goa to blockade the place so that no ship with cargo for Lisbon could leave the harbour. This combined fleet was "the Fleet of Defence." It consisted of three English and four Dutch vessels. They arrived before Goa about January 1623, their object being to hinder the Portuguese. The Viceroy was without the means of attacking, but the vessels returned from the Goa region on the 15th March 1623 without assaulting it. To provide this "Defence Fleet" with necessaries, two vessels had to be sent to Surat. When they returned, Dedel received the command to go back personally and hand over the admiralship to the English.

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[29] O. C. 999.

[30] Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als zeemogenheid in Azie,* Vol. I, pp. 410-22.

The efforts of the English on the West coast of India and in Persia were still counteracted by the Dutch who were endeavouring to participate in the trade of both and to exclude the London Company from that share of either which at so much expense they had been endeavouring to acquire. In the preceding season, the depredations which the Dutch ships had committed on the coasts of Guzerat had exposed the Company's servants at Surat to imprisonment and their property to seizure and it was not till after seven month's imprisonment that they were liberated and permitted to proceed with their sales and investments. The English turned to Surat as the Masulipatam trade of the English had declined owing to native Governors taking advantage of the disputes between the Dutch and the English. Yet here and in Surat half of the pepper and spices of India might have been sold in exchange for Surat and coast cloths.

In the year 1624 the English attempted to secure firm foothold at several places on the Coromandel coast. At Tegnapatam, Ijsbrants took measures with the broker Malay against the competition of the English. By 1625, the English and Danes went about expanding their business on the coast. The English built a house in Armagaon situated, according to ancient Dutch charts, between Nellore and Pulicat which belonged to Timma Naik.[31] He permitted them to build a fort which must be occupied with 200 peons and allowed them free trade on paying 1% on imports and 3% on exports. Venkatapati agreed that the Dutch should not trade in Armagaon and Kolapatam situated three miles to the north on the coast. The English took away the weavers and dyers of the Dutch company and gave refuge to the debtors of the Dutch. Here also the Dutch worked against the English by trying to excite the jealousy of the natives. Ijsbrants obstructed the passage of textiles from the south through Pede Raja who possessed the routes along the lake of Pulicat and over the island on whose north point Armagaon lay. The Dutch Company's servants occasioned and undertook all possible hindrances against the English establishments in Armagon, throwing all obstacles in their designs by presents to important persons and restraining their intended foolish and difficult establishments there."[32] Thus the new establishment was exposed to risks which might hazard its existence. When their presents and bribes to the Naik failed to fulfil their purpose, they sent Malayan, the chief negotiator of their affairs, to farm the government of Armagaon at treble its usual rent purposely to disturb the English trade. But none of these practices prevailed with the Naik to infringe his covenant.

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[31] Later, Ijsbrants wrote that it was Venkatapati who gave them the kaul.

In July 1624 English merchants submitted to the Governor-General at Batavia that great damage had been caused to the English at Surat by the unbecoming procedure of the Dutch. Five or six Dutch merchants were placed on some Guzerati junks so that the latter might be protected against the English who held that it was not lawful for either Company to assist enemies. Hence the English President Brockedon of Surat (March 1625) complained that his principals were suffering by the Dutch procedure in Surat i.e., the Dutch offering protection to Moorish boats against the English. Thus the English were without means to liberate their people who were in Moorish custody. The Dutch learned from Surat that the English not only asked for commission and equipment for the liberation of their people from the Moorish ships but also that a new war might be undertaken against the Dutch. The execution of the English at Amboyna naturally caused great altercation between England and the United Netherlands as a matter of state affecting the King and Parliament. The Governor-General however on learning that the English had already established in Armagaon and that they had people and means and energy on their side charged the servants on the Coromandel coast that any verbal agreement made by the Dutch with the English at Pulicat tending to the prejudice of the Dutch company because of the English establishment at Armagaon such as division and withdrawal of weavers and cloth-dyers and other apparent sufferings should be put up with. The Dutch were not to offer bribes to natives for injuring the English, and for what they had presumed to do, redress should be made by all possible means. It was also laid down that the proposal made by the English President for reciprocal agreement with a view to excellent profits for the respective Companies in that region and destruction of the Spaniards and the Portuguese should be looked into with greater goodwill and friendliness. The Dutch Governor-General invited the English and the Dutch to co-operate in furthering the trade of the

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[32] *Batavia Dagh-Register* for 18th October, 1626.

Protestant nations and destroying the Portuguese. The English President protested that in all his actions he was seeking not only the well-being of both Companies but also the advance of the interests of the Dutch States. Dutch dealings in the Archipelago, it was contended by the English, did not bespeak much friendliness for the English. While the necessity of mutual friendliness was accepted in theory, the English complained of practical difficulties like shortage of men and too much absorption in their masters' business. In 1626 the Dutch Governor-General allowed the English to transport some artillery and munitions to Surat in a Dutch ship. The Dutch were speaking about the friendly conferences and whole-hearted correspondence between the two nations regarding the affairs of Coromandel and Surat. Already in 1624 the English President had insisted that no hostility should continue with Moors of Masulipatam over the scandalous and extortionate treatment meted out to the Dutch without previous intimation to the English.

In July 1625 the Dutch felt that, concerning the trade of Surat and Persia or the defence and pursuit of the trade against the opposition and violence of the Portuguese, it should be necessary that they should consider with others what forces belonging to the other side were expected as also what the allies (Dutch and English) proposed to set before Surat together with what the others should contrive to have so that all the forces on their side might be bound to conjunction and unanimous resistance against the Portuguese. Although the Governor-General observed that special orders could hardly be given but that they should ascertain what force would appear on either side, nevertheless a general order was sent to the chiefs in authority that a closer union should be made between the Dutch and the English according to the opportunities of each and the information they could gather of the enemy's opportunities. Although on the 2nd October 1626 three ships appeared at the same time from the Netherlands, yet the combined strength of the English and the Dutch was not adequate to pursue the four galleons and fourteen smaller vessels that had shown themselves in Swally Bay and took cargo in the waters while the admiral Nuno Alvares Botelho wrote a defiant letter. After they were gone on the 17th, the English President came on board to Van den Broecke and proposed to pursue the ships, but neither the Dutch nor the English had much pleasure in doing so. However, when on the following day news came that the four galleons were attacked by three ships, the united fleet went on the 20th to the sea to assist the three unknown ships, these could not, however, be found. On the 15th of August three ships left Batavia for Surat under the command of Frederick Cistiens. The English ship, the *James,* accompanied them, but left them on the way. When they came to Surat on the 6th November, the fleet which had pursued on the 20th October and the *James* which had met them were then together.

The resourcefulness of Van den Broecke secured for his employers a definite predominance in the trade of 'the Western quarter' i.e. North and West India, Persia and Arabia. The Dutch definitely superseded the English merchants who had already been in the field. As the Dutch aim on this coast was not only the development of their commerce but also the destruction of the Portuguese, they sought the naval co-operation of the English. As already stated, a general order had been sent to the chiefs in authority that a closer union should be made between the allies according to the opportunities of each and the information which they could gather of the enemy's opportunities. In theory, the English agreed to co-operate, but in practice, they did not. It was said that their capital was slender and their man power small. All along, the Dutch were afraid of the rivalry of the English. As a matter of fact, the efforts of the English on the West coast of India in 1624-25 were still counteracted by the Dutch who wished to exclude the English. In the preceding season, the depredations of the Dutch ships on the Guzerat coasts had exposed the English to imprisonment and seizure of property. They were liberated only after seven months' imprisonment. Another cause of irritation was the departure in great dignity from Batavia to Surat of Herman Van Speult who was responsible for the Amboyna massacre, in connection with which in November 1624 King James permitted Young, one of the Directors, to be sent to the Hague on a special mission. Charles in 1625 pressed for the punishment of the Amboyna offenders. The English protested to the Governor-General against the appointment. It was, however, pointed out by this authority that Surat was too important a charge to be left in the hands of inexperienced people and that his evidence could be otherwise taken. A fit and capable person was necessary in Surat against the common enemy not only in Dutch interests but also in the interests of the English. Without express order from home, no change could be effected wih regard to the decision to send Van Speult to Surat. Thus the English protest was unavailing and further Van Speult's presence in Guzerat did not help to make the mutual relations of the two Protestant nations smoother. The Dutch continued to send reinforcements to Surat "for the more considerable pursuit and vigorous defence of our well-begun and well-established trade in the said quarter." During these years there was plenty of rivalry between the two nations. However, there were occasional acts of friendliness as for example the transport, as already stated, of English artillery to Surat in Dutch ships in July 1626. The death of Van Speult in 1627 during an expedition against the Portuguese in the Red Sea which the English had been obliged by treaty to join closed disputes connected with that officer's appointment to Surat. The Dutch now outrivalled the English. Van Speult's successor refused assistance to the English although the President had proposed that if they took Bombay it should be divided equally between the Dutch and the English and fortified to make it a station independent of native powers. In 1626 it was agreed that previous notice be given by the Dutch to the English and *vice-versa* of each other's plans against the Muslims. On the whole, the relations between the two nations were not too friendly. Both had faults. But the Dutch claimed that they were less unsympathetic and narrow-minded than the English.[33]

The restrictive nature of the English laws with regard to shipping and trade by foreigners acted favourably for the Dutch. The Dutch were quick to take advantage of these circumstances and they were enabled to grasp and keep to themselves large and valuable portions of the carrying trade. Owing to the greater encouragement of shipping in Holland, they possessed much finer vessels and more experienced mariners than were to be found in England.[34] In 1627-28 three large Dutch Indiamen from Surat which were put into Portsmouth were detained. The English argued that the Dutch did not exercise sovereignty in the sense in which Grotius had applied the term and they could not exclude the English from Southern seas.

RESULTS OF ANGLO-DUTCH COMPETITION

(1) Anglo-Dutch rivalry enabled the Indian producers to have their own terms both for prices and the quality of the goods. Neither the Dutch nor the English controlled Indian markets though together they had a practical monopoly of the supply of goods from Western Europe and they controlled purchases for the same region. But the mutual competition of the English and the Dutch made each of them less influential than if they had been able to work in harmony. The competition was however beneficial to Indian producers and consumers. Thus when the Dutch came to Guzerat and appeared as possible buyers of Indigo, the price was

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[33] *Batavia Dagh-Register.*

[34] Danvers: Introduction to Letters received by the East India Company from their servants in the East.

"talked up" to Rs. 18/-. In 1621, when the pepper market in Surat was at less than 15 maunds, the Dutch interfered and raised it to 19 maunds.[35] In November 1625, the Dutch and the English factors at Ahmedabad agreed to make no further investment in Indigo without the joint approbation of both. When the Dutch became desirous of buying some, it was agreed that 500 or 600 churls be bought in common and equally divided. On December 31, 1627 the English merchants at Agra wrote that the Dutch were buying indigo without fear giving 35 rupees for old and 33¾ rupees for new which was 3 or 4 rupees higher than necessary; they paid 17,000 rupees beforehand and got together some 700 fardles. The price of Sarkhej indigo could not be brought down while Dutch and English were competing for it. When the Dutch and the Moors were scant of money to make any great investment, the English obtained large supplies of cotton, cloth or calico.

(2) In 1618 Roe had pointed out the danger of continued competition with the Dutch and urged that it should be avoided by dividing the Eastern trade between the two nations. The rapid penetration of the country by foreigners competing for an increasing variety of its produce resulted in a development of very real value to producers. From 1619 onwards the price level of imported goods fell owing to the establishment of the Dutch at Surat as their supplies competed with those brought by the English. In 1625-26 there was a sharp rise as the Dutch brought nothing and price rose to Rs. 100 and even Rs. 120. In 1630 excessive supplies brought by the Dutch brought down the price. The occasional outbursts of excessive competition were of at least temporary benefit to the Indian consumer.

(3) From 1625 onwards the volume of the Dutch trade was larger than that of the English. Produce from the East coast was going to Holland from about 1615, i.e., 30 years before this branch of trade was developed by the English. The Dutch excelled in commercial efficiency as well as in material resources. Their greater command of capital is beyond question. They possessed a monopoly of the spice trade and of the markets of China and into their hands trade flowed from China and Japan. Their system of commercial administration was sound. The Governor-General and his council at Batavia exercised very wide powers throughout the East and constituted the heart and brain of the whole organism. Their commercial machinery was ruthlessly efficient. The competition of the weaker English company usually sufficed to secure

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[35] *Vide* letter of Thomas Rastell and others at Surat to the English Company dated November 7, 1621.

to Indians a fair price for what they sold. The competition between the Dutch and English companies made each of them less influential than if they had been able to work in harmony. Thus it was injurious to European interest, but beneficial to Indians.

(4) The years that follow show the same features. The Dutch, owing to the wonderful organisation of their company, were prospering in the east. They were intriguing with the Mughal Governors against the English. The English company's object was to counterpoise the Hollanders' swelling greatness by trade and to keep them from being absolute lords of the seas by breaking the monopoly of the Hollanders. The Anglo-Dutch rivalry affected not only the foreign policy but also the economic theories of the 17th century. It led to state interference in commerce. Nearly every important 17th century treaty on the East India trade refers directly or indirectly to Holland.

The Dutch desired no competition in the East. They refused the English company all share in the East Indian trade because (1) they had at great expense and danger established their trade in the East Indies by the taking, supervising and building of many forts (2) because they had contracted amity with diverse kings there and therefore did not think it reasonable that any man should deprive them of their benefits and advantages. The Dutch had spent large sums in the East and believed that they were entitled to the rewards to which they looked forward and which they ultimately obtained. But they claimed much more than a proportionate reward for all their expenses. The Dutch maintained that every person possessed liberty to act for himself, and since certain Indians had promised the sale of spices to the Hollanders, their monopoly was quite in keeping with natural equity and law of nations. The outlook of the two nations was different. The English expected some return for the services which they had rendered to Holland in her wars against Spain. They were soon disillusioned. Though the Dutch had utilised the services of the English in the East for their own benefit, they were not ready to allow the English freedom of trade with the natives. The monopoly which they had so laboriously built up would in their opinion have been absolutely useless if other European nations had been allowed to trade with their allies. Their main object was the establishment of a monopoly of all the spices in the East, and the consequent exaction of high prices from the buyers in Europe. Competition would destroy the prospects of the realisation of this desire. Hence the bitter rivalry between the two Protestant nations.

Reviews

THE FRENCH IN INDIA (First Establishment and Struggle) by S. P. Sen, B.A., (London). With a Foreword by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), University of Calcutta, 1947, (pp. XVII and 360).

The story of the beginnings of French enterprise in India has not been often told ; and its character and details have been affected by the recent publication of contemporary sources of information like the *Memoire* of François Martin and the account of the *Itinerary* of the Abbé Carré. Mr. Sen takes his narrative from the foundation of the French East India Company (1664) down to the foundation of Pondicherry in 1673-1674. The Abbé Carré was the agent of Colbert, the French Minister, in the East, in the years 1666-74 ; and his *Journal* has been helpful for the construction of the true story of Admiral de la Haye's expedition to the East which caused much apprehension among the Europeans, the Dutch in particular. The earlier attempts of the French at Eastern enterprise had not borne any fruit ; and the Company started in 1644, attempted the simultaneous development of French trade in the distinct commercial regions of Surat, the Malabar Coast, the Coromandel Coast and Bengal and thus attempted a huge task far beyond its resources. Caron who was the evil genius of French enterprise in these years, endeavoured to open trade in the Persian Gulf as well as in the Archipelago. F. Martin held that the idea of sending out a powerful naval squadron to the East, had originated in Caron's mind, though Colbert had been already convinced of the utility of such an expedition as has been shown here. The progress of the fleet to Madagascar and thence to India and Ceylon was marked by indiscipline among the officers and aroused intense Dutch opposition. To add to the troubles, there were internal discords in the French settlement at Surat ; while the objectives of the expedition were neither carefully defined, nor efficiently planned. The bungling operations of the squadron to the Ceylonese waters were largely due to the wrong judgements, if not positively treacherous advice of Caron ; and the decision to leave the Bay of Trinkomali which was attributed by earlier historians, like Kaeppelin, as being due entirely to Caron's mischief, is supported here though de la Haye is not totally absolved from all blame.

The subsequent French occupation and loss of San Thome has been told in considerable detail, as also the connected enterprise of the settlement at Masulipattam and the foundation of Pondicherry, the first European corruption of which name had been given by a Dutchman, who visited it in 1618, as Pollocherry, while it was written as Puducherry by Francis Day, the founder of Madras, who touched it in 1639. The French connections with Pondicherry are traced back to August 1670 ; and Martin's cautious occupation and development of the place under the auspices of Sher Khan Lodi, and the latter's encouragement of him to capture Valudavur from his rival, the governor of Gingee, are well narrated ; and thus their policy and course of interference in internal politics seem to have been taught to the French by Indians even then.

Attention may be here drawn to the *Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East,* 1672 *to* 1674, translated from the manuscript journal of his travels preserved in the India Office by Lady Fawcett and edited by Sir Charles Fawcett with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn (The Hakluyt Society). The Pondicherry Archives are lacking in records dealing with this early period and come to be full only from about the middle of July 1720.

—C. S. S.

LANDMARKS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (Volume I, 1600 to 1919) by Gurumukh Nihal Singh, Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi, 1950, (Pp. XV and 393).

Professor Singh brought out the first edition of this book in 1933 and now proposes to bring out a second volume dealing with the momentous march of events in the period 1919-1947, which he is preparing for the Press. Indan Constitutional History has been receiving increased attention and the literature on it has been growing on a phenomenal scale, though of unequal and varied value.

In our review of the first edition of this volume (see *J.I.H.* Volume XII, 1933, pp. 470-473), it was noted that that book was very welcome even at that time when intensive attention was beginning to be paid to the study of the government and politics of India, and when the political and cultural renaissance of the land was becoming rapidly transformed into a really popular and national movement. Professor Singh holds, as is usually done, that the epoch of the Company's rule was but an introduction and prefatory note to the larger, more complicated and more gripping account of India under the British Crown. One of the topics dealt with in Part II, in connection with the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is shown in all its comprehensive significance, of giving an impetus to legislative devolution, as well as to the beginning of a move-

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ment towards the independence of the Indian Government, in legislative matters, of the authorities in England, as well as the beginning of the movement of internal autonomy in the Provinces. The Royal Titles Act of 1876 is also clearly explained as having served "to bring the Indian States inside the boundary of the Indian Empire and to change the legal position of the Indian Rulers from Allies of the Paramount Power to subordinate Princes within the Empire."

Prof. Singh brings out the constitutional and political importance and effect of such measures as the Press Act of 1878, the Ilbert Bill and the Cotton Duties, all of which created much political stir at the time and watered the roots of Indian political consciousness. He demonstrates how the Secretary of State's strict control over the Governor-General established, as an axiom, from the time of Lords Northbrook and Salisbury, was later expanded to include and develop, during the Secretaryship of Sir Henry Fowler, the idea that the principle of the united and indivisible responsibility of the British Cabinet should be applied also to the Indian Executive Councils, in spite of the difference in the character of the ties which held their members together in the two cases.

The portions devoted to the survey of the cultural and religious awakening of the people comprehend a notice of the leaven of Western education, the influence of the press and the dawning of a sense of pride in the national heritage. With the restraint of a Congressman of the generation of Gokhale and Mehta, Mr. Singh warns the reader against the prevailing tendency to criticise the elder Congressmen for their display of caution and moderation, now held to be "bordering on timidity."

The reforms attempted by Lord Curzon in the general machinery of the bureaucratic government and in the administration of police and railways, the counterblast attempted to the partition agitation, the growth of Extremism and the emergence of a new force, that of religious nationalism,—all these are shown to have contributed towards the creation of a new life in the country, which bore its first fruits in *Swadeshi,* boycott and national education, and has served as the foundation of the ideals and programme of the neo-Indians of the present day. Perhaps from Mr. Singh's survey one may feel that the growth and progress of the revolutionary movement was after all, only a minor phase of the surging nationalistic activity of the land. The rise of Muslim communalism and the consequential fruits of separate electorates, weighted representation and the increasing clamour for the division of offices and governmental patronage of all kinds, are vigorously treated. The history of the decade intervening between the Morley-

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Minto Reforms Act of 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919 is the last and the most elaborately treated section of this volume which can be safely commended to all as a sound, clear and fairly impartial and exhaustive account of the forces, historical political, national and cultural, that have helped to make India what it is in the present generation. The narrative ends with the tragedy of Amritsar; the bibliography is not heavy; while the tone and general get-up of the book are highly commendable. The treatment of Indians in South Africa has, as before, been comprehended in the scope.

In the preface the author gives a note on the recently published literature on Indian constitutional progress on which he has promised an ample bibliography in the coming volume.

—C. S. S.

ANCIENT INDIAN CHRONOLOGY—Illustrating some of the most important astronomical methods, by P. C. Sengupta, M.A., University of Calcutta, 1947, (Pp. XXVIII and 287).

This work has brought into requesition only the science of Astronomy for ascertaining the data for certain dates. In the I Section the fixing of dates of the Mahabharata battle and of the Rama story is first attempted. The drawing of the horoscopes of the birth-time of Rama and Kṛṣṇa can be merely regarded as poeto-astrological effusions; but if the Puranic dynastic lists can be believed, the time of Rama may be held to be about 3150 B.C. and the Bharata battle to have probably taken place in the year 2449 B.C. The methods of Chronology employed are explained astronomically, but are marked by a great amount of technical complexity. After examining the time references by two methods, the author finds that the results obtained from both the methods will be approximate to each other and hopes that the dates he has arrived at may prove to be a satisfactory solution for the first time; and researchers in the past are held to have erred by a wrong identification of persons inferred from a similarity of names. It is maintained that the astronomical references used for fixing the date of the Bharata battle are all definite in meaning and no better evidence can be adduced. Similarly, the date of the consecration of Yudhisthira for the Aswamedha sacrifice, on astronomical indications, has been fixed for March 2446 B.C. The author rejects also the Aryabhata tradition on 3102 B.C. as the date of the Bharata battle.

The next two sections deal with topics connected with Vedic antiquity, and *Brahmana* Chronology, from which a few of the conclusions arrived at may well be quoted. One of them is that the civilization of the Veda was earlier than that of the Indus Valley. Another is that the practice of recognizing the seasons by the heliacal risings of one or other of the bright stars, was followed by all ancient nations. Again, the Vedic Hindus of Vamadeva's time reckoned the year by the heliacal rising of the dog-star, as was done by the Ancient Egyptians. We can also be sure as to the time when Indra, the rain-giver, began to function, with the heliacal rising of *Magha* or *α Leonis* at Kurukshetra. It may be possible to fix 4000 B.C. as the earliest date for the Vedic Culture.

The time of the solar eclipse spoken of in the *Rgveda,* is thus obtained as July 26, 3928 B.C. This date at once settles the time of Atri, the observer of this eclipse. In the author's finding, this Atri was one of the first batch of the Aryans who tried and succeeded in settling in the northern Punjab.

The tradition of Yama's dogs belongs to about 4700 B.C. and is before the time when the Aryan peoples migrated to different countries from their ancient homes. This ancient tradition in relation to the above constellations survived in the Vedas and with the western immigrants. The author writes :—"Here I have to differ from late Tilak, who in his book '*Orion*', in the chapter on "the Antelope's Head," cites this tradition as a confirmation of his finding that the vernal equinox for the time was at the Antelope's Head, which according to him was the *Mragasira's* cluster. The tradition belongs to the Pre-Vedic age, as I have shown before. The legend of Prajapati and Rohini, when astronomically interpreted, does not yield the Vernal Equinox at Mragaśiras as was supposed by Tilak in his *Orion.*"

The Vedic Hindus knew how to find the solstice day of winter and summer and had a standard month of Magha in their calculations of the solstice days in successive ages.

In the part dealing with *Brahmana* Chronology attention is pointed to the references to solar eclipses in five places in the *Tandya Brahmana,* and it is not unlikely that the *Satapatha Brahmana* also (in V, 3, 2, 2) records the same traditional eclipse. The *Jaiminiya Brahmana* and the *Tandya Brahmana* indicate a common date of about 1600 B.C. Hence the traditional position of the solstices as stated in the *Maitri Upanisaṭ* was true for about 1800 B.C.; but it would be rash to say that this *Upanisat* was composed at this date. The *Sankayana Brahmana* has also been worked out as dating about 1000 B.C. The Baudhayana rules for sacrifices should be taken as of the year 887-16 B.C. The *Baudhayana Srauta Sutra* mentions the name Panini in the Pravara Section 3 and also the name *Kaulasva Yaska* in XVI, 27. Whether these statements place the dates of the celebrated grammarian and the author of the Vedic lexicon, *Nirukta,* before the time of the *Baudhayana Srauta Sutra* (900 B.C. nearly), is a matter that cannot be settled astronomically. The date for the *Satapatha* and the *Taittiriya Brahmanas* cannot be pushed back beyond 625 B.C. The *Srauta Sutras* of *Katyayana* and *Apastamba* can both be fixed for the period 630 to 624 B.C.

In the section dealing with the Indian eras, we read that on the basis of the examination of the eclipses, recorded in the *Samyukta Nikaya,* and held to have occurred when the Buddha was at Sravasti, the Ceylon-Burma tradition on 544 B.C., forms the true date of the *Nirvana.* Mr. Sengupta thinks that Kaniska lived at the beginning of the Saka era and that his era could not have started from 120 A.D.

The era of the earlier Kharosthi inscriptions may hypothetically be held to be the same as the era of Seleucus Nicator who was, in all probability, referred to as the Maharaj atiraja or perhaps, the era of Alexander the Great. The Seleucid era began from the year 311 B.C. Perhaps also the era of Chandragupta which started from 321 B.C. might have been used as the basis.

The oldest name of the Samvat years might have been the Krita years; and the astronomical reasons therefor are adduced. The Gupta era cannot, however, be identified with the Samvat era. Why or how the Malava era came to be called Vikrama Samvat cannot be answered from any astronomical data.

The chapter on the Gupta era covers an examination of the Gupta inscriptional dates; and the zero year of it is held to have begun on December 20, 318 A.D. The Gupta and the Valabhi eras were the same. Lastly, the time indications in Kalidasa's works are examined, with the results that the poet's date is fixed about the middle of the 6th century A.D., and that he and Varahamihira were contemporaries. The treatment is extremely technical; but the basic idea of correlating the technical data and formulæ to historical data should be useful for the historian who should naturally await further confirmatory or other material.

—C. S. S.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

I. *Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras,* Vol. XIV, Part I, 17th Feb., 1950, Olcott No.

1. *How an Epoch-Making Book* (*Isis Unveiled,* by H. P. Blavatsky) *was Written.* By H. S. Olcott.

   > "Whence did H. P. B. draw the materials which compose Isis, and which cannot be traced to accessible literary sources of quotation ? *From the Astral Light,* and, by her soul senses, from her Teachers — the Brothers, Adepts, Sages, Masters, as they have been variously called ".

2. *Ode to India* (in Sanskrit), by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

3. *Hindu Religion and Hindu Customs,* by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

4. *Edicts of Asoka* (in original Pali, and Sanskrit and English translations), by G. Srinivasa Murti and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar.

II. *Bihar Research Society,* Vol. XXXV, Parts 3 and 4, Sept., and Dec. 1949, Patna.

1. *Sasānka,* by Dr. B. P. Sinha, Patna College.

   > "Thus we find that we have no real basis to connect Sasanka with the Guptas or the Maukharis. Sasanka was a Gauda, and Jayanaga was also a king of Gauda" — "Sasanka's dominion included Magadha — with his capital at Karnasuvarna, ruled over a large part of Northern India, which included parts of the modern United Provinces, the whole of Bihar, and a very large part of Bengal — Sasanka came to the throne in the early years of the 7th cent. after Christ (probably 602), and his rule may have come to an end by 625 A.D.". Then "Bengal passed into the control of Harsha, and Orissa also appears to have ultimately fallen into his hands. — Thus the first Bengal empire in Indian History perished with the death of the first great hero of Bengal."

2. *Some New Light on the Gahadavalas of Kanauj, Kasiraja, and his Chief Minister, Vidyadhara,* by Dasaratha Sarma, Hindu College, Delhi.

3. *A Note on the Word Navakōṭi in the Title Navakoti Karnataka Kalavaragesvara,* of A.D. 1458, by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.

   "Thus it is clear that the numericals affixed to the names of districts and provinces refer only to *gramas* — the word Grama indicates a unit of measurement, though it is hard to conjecture about what it actually represents in terms of measurements in modern days. — Navakoti (9 crores) must have represented the number of gramas in Karnata, or Karnata and Gulbarga together."

4. *The Rape of Indian Ships in the Indian Waters,* 1612, by Dr. Jagadis Narayan Sarkar, Patna College.

III. *Birmingham Historical Journal — University of,* Vol. I, No. 1, 1947.

1. *Orbis Terrarum : Some Reflections on the Roman Empire,* by J. Oliver Thomson.

   "The theory of the earth-globe was, of course, already old. Some ancient texts and many modern authorities ascribe it to Pythagoras, about 530. — Aristarchus of Samos reached the hypothesis that the earth-globe revolves round the sun in an oblique circle, while it rotates about its own axis — Among Greek writers of the time was Crates with his orb-like globe."

2. *Joan of Kent* (1328-85 A.D.) *and the Order of the Garter,* by Margaret Galway.

3. *Jerome of Prague,* one of the three "first champions of the assault on Rome: John Wycliff, John Hus and Jerome," who is still little more than a name, by R. R. Betts. On 30th May 1416 he was condemned by a Catholic Council of 14 cardinals and others at Constance as "a rotten branch that is dry and dead, and it pronounces and declares him to be a heretic and relapsed into heresy, excommunicate and anathema", and burned at the stake.

IV. Do. Vol. I, No. 2, 1948.

1. *A Minoan Chapter of Greek History,* by F. J. Tritsch.

   It shows "that the Minoan civilization of Crete and Greece forms part of Greek History, indeed a first but very vital chapter of Greek History".

2. *The History of Parliament to 1400 in the Light of Modern Research,* by Geoffrey Templeman.

3. *Political and Historical Thought in the French Revolution,* by H. P. Adams.

4. *A Bacteriologist's Approach to History,* by J. F. D. Shrewsbury.

“In view of the influence that epidemic disease has had upon civilization in the past, it is surprising to find so few references to it in historical works, and so few attempts on the part of historians to assess its influence upon the development of particular societies.” Examples: (i) “The epidemic that made the Philistines return the Ark of the Covenant to Israel influenced the course of Jewish history. (2) The Plague of Athens in 430 B.C. exerted a decisive effect upon the outcome of the Peloponnesian war, and the resulting defeat of the Athenian confederacy altered the course of ancient history. (3) The Elephant War, A.D. 570-1, which determined the future of the Saracen Empire, and led indirectly to the rise of Mohammedanism was decided by an epidemic that decimated Abrahah's army before Mecca. (4) The English pestilence, in A.D. 664, undoubtedly had a profound influence upon both English and Welsh history, but its effects have never been studied with the attention they deserve. (5) The history of the Crusades is an epitome of the history of the impact of epidemic disease upon humanity.”

“Whatever the actual numbers were, however, there is no doubt that heavy mortality from disease wrecked the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th crusades, that scurvy and concomitant disease destroyed the 6th, and that the 7th was extinguished by epidemic disease, principally dysentery, before it had properly begun. (6) The Spanish conquest of Mexico was undoubtedly assisted by an epidemic of smallpox, that decimated the Aztecs, destroying nearly half their population. (7) The 30 Years' War was in all its phases dominated by deadly epidemics. (8) In 1801, yellow fever decided the establishment of the Republic of Haiti.”

V. Do. Vol. II, No. 1, 1949.

1. *The Legend of the Phoenix,* Part I, by R. T. Rundle Clark.

VI. *Ceylon Review — University of.* April 1950, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

1. *Sutta Nipata: The Pastoral Ballads,* by Dr. N. A. Jayawickrama.

2. *Some Corrections of Geiger's Culavamsa Translation,* by Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta.

3. *Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom, by* Mr. C. W. Nicholas. *Senapati* = Commander-in-Chief; *Nagaraguttika* = Guardian or Protector of the City; *Amacca,* Ameti = Minister; *Parumaka* = Sanskrit Pramukha = President of a Guild or Corporation; *Bhandagarika,* Badakarika = Royal Treasurer; Gāmika or Gamika = Head of a village; *Ganaka* = Accountant; *Ratika* or Ratiya = Officer administering a Rāṭa, a territorial division.

VII. *Ganganath Jha Research Institute — Journal of the.* Vol. VI, Part 4, Aug. 1949, Allahabad.

1. *Taksasila,* by Prof. S. B. Chaudhuri.

2. *A Verse from Skandagupta's Junagarh Inscription,* by Dasaratha Sarma. In the line "Pratikrti-Garuḍājnām nirviṣīm cāvakarttā" Garudājna = a command carried through the "Garudamadanka-sasanas", about which we read in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta. Secondarily it signifies also Garuda-mantra believed to be so efficacious in dealing with serpents. Pratikrti = retaliatory or punitive measures, or picture. Cāvakartā may be read vāvakartā. Vāva in Vedic and Puranic literature means certainly, surely indeed".

3. *Dates in Decimal Figures,* by G. S. Gai.
   "The decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols both in North and South India about the same time, viz., as early as the second quarter of the 7th cen. A.C."

4. *Use of B. for V and Vice Versa,* by G. S. Gai.
   "This alphabetic feature was in vogue in the Gupta period, and therefore it is admissible in the Nalanda plate of Samudragupta".

VIII. *India — Journal of the Numismatic Society of.* Vol. XI, Part I, June 1949, Bombay.

1. *Some More coins of the Mahisha Dynasty,* by V. V. Mirashi Amraoti.
2. *A Lead Coin of Satavahana,* by Mirashi.
3. *A Unique Gold Coin of Chandragupta I,* by Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund.
4. *Can Kacha be identified with Ramagupta ?,* by P. L. Gupta, Banaras. "The arguments are not conclusive". (p. 35).
5. *Some New Ephthalite Coins,* by Awadh Kishore Narain, Banaras.
6. *Some Rare and Unique Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,* by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Banaras. Coins of Euthydemos I, Menander (?), Heliokles, Spalirises, Huvishka, Toramana, and others.

IX. *India Quarterly,* Vol. VI, No. 2. April-June 1950.

1. *India and the United Nations,* by M. C. Setalvad.
2. *Tibet— Politics and International Relations,* by Dwarakanath Kachru.
3. *French Foreign Policy,* by Raymad Aron.
4. *Swiss Experience of Permanent Neutrality,* by A. Daeniker.
5. *State Ownership of Enterprise in the Netherlands,* by H. M. Vlekke.

X. *London Institute of Historical Research — Bulletin of the.* Vol. XXII, No. 66, Nov. 1949.

1. *The Earliest Records of the High Court of Admirality* (1515-1558), by Alwyn A. Ruddock.
2. *Two Unpublished Letters of Thomas Cromwell,* by G. R. Elton.
3. *The Organisation of a College of Secular Priests,* 1380-1544, by R. B. K. Peteh.
4. *Thomas Cromwell : Aspects of His Administrative Work,* by G. R. Elton.

5. *Effect of Marian and Elezabethan Religious Settlements upon the Clergy of London,* 1553-64, E. L. C. Mullins.

XI. *Madras Oriental Research — Quarterly Journal of.* Vol. XVII, Part 3, March 1948, issued 1950.

1. *"Svadosha-paradoshavit"* (Valmiki Day celebration lecture, Madras) by R. Narayana Aiyar, I.C.S (Retd.) "The virtue (of Sri Rama) I refer to......occurs in the opening sarga of Ayodhyakanda, Verse 24. The meaning of the phrase is that Rama had a knowledge of his own as well as of others' failings."

2. *Western Chalukya and Chola Conflict in Vengi*: Choda, Gonko II (c. 1132-1160 A.D.). "Thus by his brilliant victories Gonka II changed the political map of the eastern sea-board of Andhra from one of Chalukya suzerainty to that of Imperial Chola lordship, which he helped to maintain throughout his career, from c. 1132 to 1160 A.D."

3. *Jānāsrayī Chandōviciti* (paper presented to the 15th All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay), by Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Trivandrum.

"Next to the two schools of Sanskrit prosody of Bharata and Pingala, the school of Janasrya represented by his Chandoviciti is the most important,........This Janasraya may be identified with king Madhavavarman I (535-85 A.D.) of Vishnu-kundin dynasty........The sixth chapter.......deals with prastāra, mathematical calculations.......They are indeed mathematical puzzles bearing on the principles of permutation."

4. *Betel Leaves and Betel Nuts, or Chewing a Peculiar South Indian Custom,* by U. Venkatakrishna Rao.

5. *Betel Chewing* (translated from the French article of Georges Lebrun), by Sri R. Ramachandran (with a map).

"The area of betel chewing.......extends between East Longitudes 60 degrees and 160 degrees, and Latitudes 10° south to 30° north — more than I million square Kilometers. "Betel is mentioned in a Pali text describing an incident that happened in 504 B.C." (Betel was esteemed by the Persians of the 6th cent. A.D.). The Vietnamese have a story about the betel vine, of about 2000 B.C.

— T. K. JOSEPH

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1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*, Bangalore.

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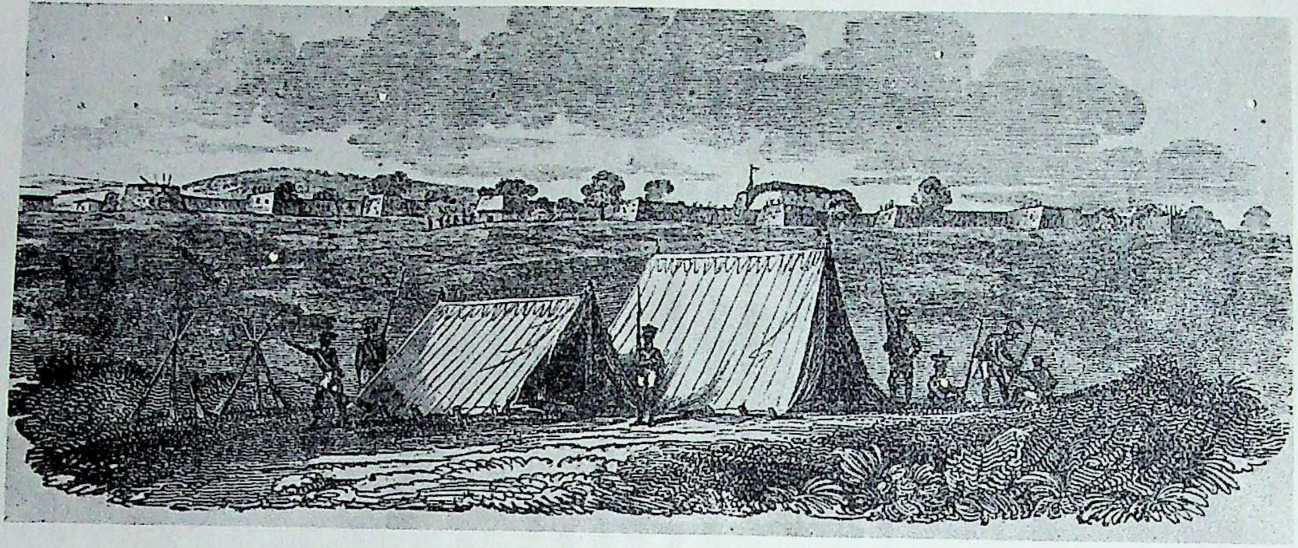


Fort of Panchalamkurichi.

— From Welsh's *Military Reminiscences.*

The Last Phase of The Southern Poligar War of 1799-1801

The Campaign against the Marudu Brothers of Sivaganga

(May-October 1801)

BY

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

I

The refugees from the fort of Panchalamkurichi which was stormed by the English troops in May 1801, only after nearly four months of strenuous campaigning, retreated, in a well-ordered and compact formation and numbering about two thousand men, to Sivaganga where the ruling Marudu Brothers had also risen in revolt against the British and gathered a fighting force amounting to nearly 20,000 men.

Vellai Marudu, the elder of these famous brothers, was a great hunter a very "Nimrod" and had always provided good sporting facilities for his European guests.

Of the Brothers, Welsh thus writes :—"Of the two Marudoos, so frequently mentioned in this narrative, the elder brother was called Wella, or Velli Murdoo, but he had nothing to do with the management of the country. He was a great sportsman, and gave up his whole time to hunting and shooting. Being a man of uncommon stature and strength, his chief delight was to encounter the monsters of the woods ; and it was even said, that he could bend a common Arcot rupee with his fingers. Unencumbered with the cares or trappings of government, he led a sort of wandering life ; and occasionally visited his European neighbours at Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura, by whom he was much esteemed. If any one wanted game, a message sent to Velli Murdoo was sure to procure it, or if he wished to partake in the sports of the field Velli Murdoo was the man to conduct him to the spot, and to insure his success, as well as to watch over his safety. Did a royal tiger appear, while his guest was surrounded by hardy and powerful pikemen Velli Murdoo was the first to meet the monster and despatch him. A life such as this, although it may appear idle and insignificant to those accustomed to the safety of a well-regulated country, was very far from being without its usefulness in a district overrun with jungle, and infested by beasts of prey. The minor game was, however, politely decoyed or driven in front of his European friend, who might thus with less danger kill hogs, elks, deer, peafowl, in abundance. From this Oriental Nimrod I had received many marks of attention and kindness, when stationed at Madura in the year 1795 and then one of the youngest subalterns in the place; a pretty certain proof of his disinterestedness.

"The Cheena Murdoo was a portly, handsome and affable man of the kindest manners and most easy access; and though ruling over a people to whom his very nod was a law, he lived in an open palace without a single guard; indeed, when I visited him in February 1795, every man who chose to come in, had free ingress and egress, while every voice called down the blessing of the Almighty upon the father of his people. From a merely casual visit, when passing through his country, he became my friend, and during my continuance at Madura, never failed to send me presents of fine rice and fruit; particularly a large rough-skinned orange, remarkably sweet, which I have never met with in such perfection in any other part of India. It was he also, who first taught me to throw the spear, and hurl the *collery* stick, a weapon scarcely known elsewhere, but in a skilful hand, capable of being thrown to a certainty to any distance within one hundred yards. Yet this very man, I was afterwards destined by the fortune of war, to chase like a wild beast; to see badly wounded, and captured by common peons; then lingering with a fractured thigh in prison; and lastly, to behold him with his gallant brother, and no less gallant son, surrounded by their principal adherents, hanging in chains on a common gibbat".

II

The younger brother, Chinna Marudu, was the real ruler of the Sivaganga country and had his headquarters at Siruvayal, now a small train-halt station in the Ramnad District. The Brothers had usurped power many years before this date from the nominal ruler of Sivaganga who happened to be a woman, and they had taken the title of Pandyan Rajas and had openly assumed sovereign power without any attempt at concealment or conventional disguise of their status. The Nawab of the Carnatic had dispossessed them of their territories, of course with the assistance of the Company's troops under Colonel Stewart, but shortly afterwards, in consideration of a handsome bribe that he received, reinstated them as rulers. As the stipulated tribute was not paid regularly by them, the Company's Government which naturally attached great value to the due collection of the tribute which had been assigned to them, instituted an inquisition into the title by which the Brothers claimed and exercised ruling powers.

It was at the time when the Marudus were greatly perturbed by the Company's investigation into their very title to power and were collecting troops to meet any possible contingency of an English invasion, that the refugees from Pānchālamkurichi of whose bravery and heroic resistance they had a very high opinion, arrived in their midst.

The Marudus had an army of about 20,000 men ready to take the field, all armed with muskets, matchlocks or spears. They appealed to the Tondaiman Raja of Pudukottai to join them against the foreign whites, and even threatened to ravage his country with fire and sword, in case he refused, which threat they could have easily carried out as the British troops in the country were not then in a position to effectively protect his dominion.

The Tondaiman, however, persuaded by Colonel Blackburne, Resident at Tanjore, persisted in his refusal; and he also declined to remain neutral at least, as the Marudus desired this alternative attitude on his part. In his zeal to help the British, he postponed his own marriage and was so expeditious that in four days he joined Colonel Innes at Nattam, with 3,000 men and at the same time gave up the fort of Tirumayam, his only strong fort, to serve as a military depot for the British forces. Colonel Blackburne, the Resident at Tanjore, who had taken part in previous wars with the Poligars was mainly instrumental in keeping the Tondaiman firm in the English cause.

The Marudus defended themselves with great valour, and when shut up in their jungle fort of Kalaiyarkoil, contrived to resist for five months the whole British force that could be brought against them. Superior equipment and discipline gave the British the final victory; and the fort was at last stormed.

The Marudus who escaped were hunted out and hanged. The fate of the Oomai Dorai, the last and bravest and most formidable of the Pānchālamkurichi chiefs, was intertwined with that of the Marudus. A sympathetic picture of the two valiant brothers is given by Welsh who had known them as hospitable and refined gentlemen in the years before the war.

The narrative of the operations for the defeat of the Marudus, has been taken from the account of Captain James Welsh who participated in this, as well as in the previous Pānchālamkurichi campaigns and kept a regular and accurate day-to-day journal of the various movements and operations of the British.

III

A. *Operations upto the securing of Siruvayal in July 1801*

On May 26th, two days after the storming of Pānchālamkurichi, a body of English troops marched to Nagalapur and on hearing that a large body of the Marudu troops were investing Kamudi marched to the place, routed the attackers and relieved it.

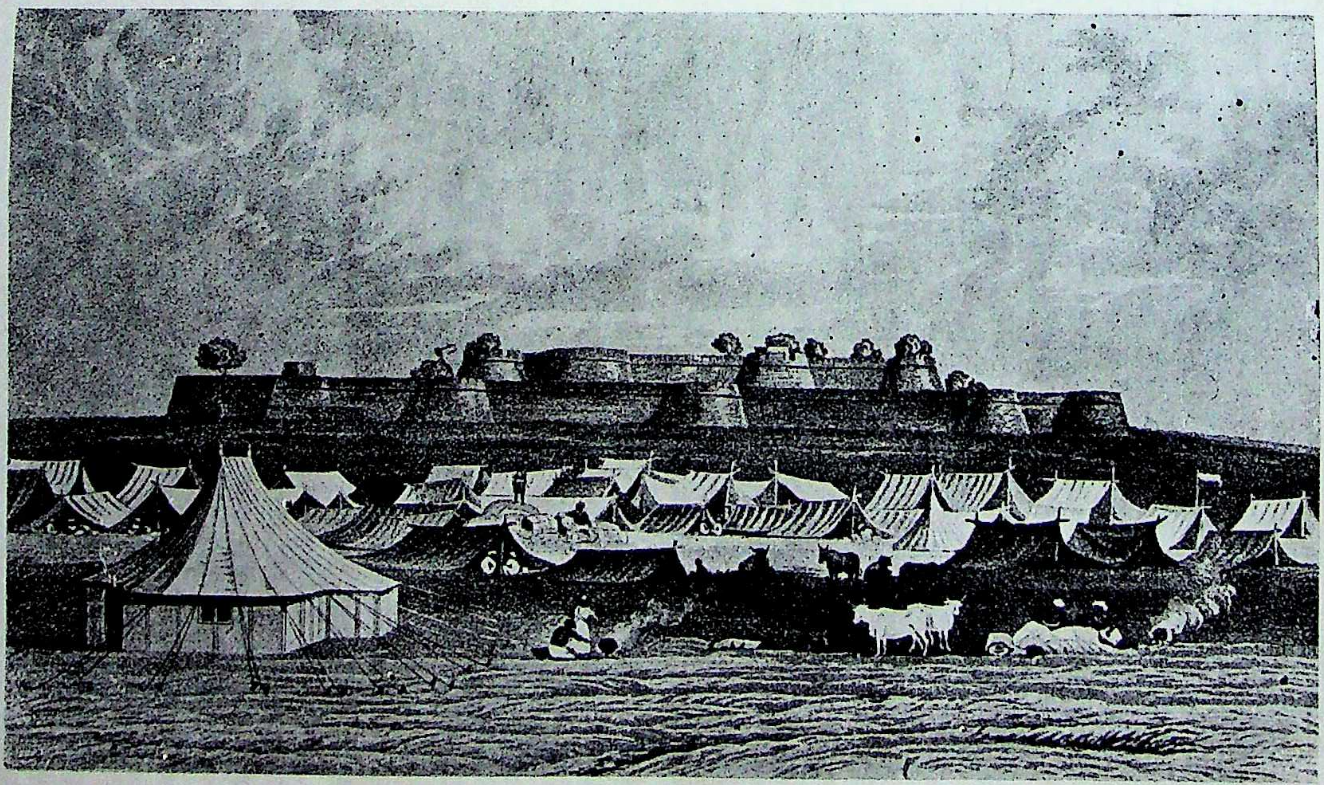
On the 2nd June, the forces of the Marudus appeared near Tiruppuvanam and opened fire on the rear guard of the English troops which had reached that place; but no mischief was done except that an alert was given at night.

On the 4th June, an English detachment returning to camp was attacked by the enemy in some strength about 3 miles off; they were, however, very cautious and could not be tackled, as they had the advantage of the English infantry in speed and as the ground did not admit of their pursuit by the cavalry.

On the 7th June, when the English forces marched to Tiruppachethi, they were continually harrassed on the march by the enemy who tried to gain a high bank which completely commanded the road that the English had to take. This the enemy secured after routing an English party that was sent to hold the position. This reverse was followed by the rout of a second body of English troops who however rallied and ultimately succeeded in compelling the retreat of the enemy.

On the 10th June, after three easy marches, the English troops were again set upon by the enemy who possessed themselves of a bank and annoyed the English line therefrom and were forced only after a severe struggle, to withdraw from that bank, as well as from a smaller one behind it. Undaunted, the Poligar troops made a dash against the first bank and regained possession of it; and another of their parties rushed into the bed of the river and piked a few of the English troops; and then their whole body rushed across the river bed and attacked the English rear-guard on the other side which was only saved from destruction by a timely reinforcement.

When the English encamped near Parthibanur, both their ground and their situation were extremely irksome, the former



Fort of Kamudi (Comery).

—From *Welsh's Military Reminiscences.*

unsafe on account of the surrounding jungle and the latter because the swarming enemy troops could have forced themselves through a tank bed covered with jungle shrubs behind the British rear and penetrated into their line. "Little was the rest and short were the slumbers of the head-quarters that night."

The next march of the English was to Paramakudi (now the headquarters of a taluk in the Ramnad District) which the Marudus had taken possession of in due form and near which their army was assembled on the northern side of the river Vaigai.

June 12. The English next marched to Chattamaram, nearly 12 miles further, on the same bank of the river, being impeded by the firing of some of Marudus' and Kattabomma's men and rendered unable "to return the compliment", the situation only improving when the army got further from Marudus' jurisdiction into the territory of the Ramnad chief.

Two days later, the English troops reached Ramnad to get information from Colonel Martinz, a very remarkable character who had been long resident there, regarding the approaching campaign against the Marudus.

June 22. The English then marched to Kamudi about 20 miles from Ramnad where was a strong stone fort of a circular shape, with two encircling walls, one higher than the other and each equipped with six round bastions. After several days were passed here, the troops at last marched into the Marudu country and reached Tirukoshtiyur, a temple town, near which the enemy troops were seen in large numbers, evidently to obstruct the English reinforcement from joining. They hung on the rear of the advancing reinforcing body and had to be driven off with some effort, which cost a few men. Some of the men of the Tondaiman of Pudukottai who were to act as pioneers for the cutting of a passage through the Siruvayal jungle, accompanied the reinforcement.

July 24. From here the British troops marched towards Okkur near which the enemy attacked their rear-guard, and were then dislodged from a neighbouring village they had occupied; both that village and another were burnt down by the English to prevent the enemy from securing possession of them and annoying the English march. Further march from this place was very difficult, as both sides of the route were lined by high banks and flanked by thick jungle and clumps of palmyra trees and well suited for both annoyance and defence. The enemy had to be driven from bank to bank as the English forces advanced; but they displayed a continuous and sustained resistance. After a grilling march that occupied all the day till 3 in the afternoon the English reached, and took possession of a strong line of banks, facing Siruvayal. The English position was strong and covered the banks and formed a kind of pentagon so as to prevent the enemy from operating in the night.

Thus Siruvayal, the headquarters of the Marudus, was occupied on the 30th July, after the English captured a little battery that had been erected in the middle of the northern side of a high bank running east and then north, the whole line swarming with their fighting men. They were forced to retreat, abandoning the four guns mounted on their battery and set fire to all the houses in the place, leaving only burning ruins for the English to take. The English march into Siruvayal town from their position of the previous evening, though it covered a distance of less than three miles was so strenuous that it occupied six hours. The enemy could well have put up a sturdy defence of Siruvayal as it had a thick hedge all round it and every house in it could have been defended.

Welsh thus observed:—"The Murdoo's palace and that of Shevatatamby, were conspicuous for neatness more than grandeur, and though small, were extremely solid and well built. The streets one of which had an avenue in it, were broad and regular and the whole town claimed a superiority over any I had ever seen in India."

IV

B. *Cutting a road through the Siruvayal Jungle*

Now began the most arduous phase of the English operations, *viz.* the cutting of a road through the most impenetrable and thickest of jungles that stretched between Siruvayal and Kalayarkoil where the Marudus retreated

The English operations commenced on the 31st July, with about 2000 pioneers from the Tondaiman country working under cover provided by 200 Europeans, besides a body of Malay riflemen and equipped with two 6-pounder guns. The whole of that day was occupied in cutting a road of a mile and a half in length into the jungle, the enemy opposing only once and running off after being fired on. The next day (1st August) saw the cutting of ¾ of a mile of the road, after much firing on both sides. On the third day (2nd August) the enemy attacked very fiercely the flanking parties of the covering English guard that had advanced to the head of the cut road; and even the Malay riflemen could not stand their ground against their attack. Consequently this day 600 yards of the road, about 1/3rd of a mile, could be cut.

The fourth day (3rd August) the enemy threw up a breastwork equipped with a small gun in front of the road and kept up a brisk fire the whole day, but did little damage as their muskets were of little avail in the thickest of the jungle. That evening, an uncle of Udaya Tevar, the English *protége* for the Chiefship of Sivaganga, who held a post of confidence under the Marudus escaped to the English camp and gave Colonel Agnew, the commander, "much useful information respecting the state of the country and the mode of intended operations."

4th August. The English working party found the enemy troops posted in force in a trench, and giving a heavy fire. But they were quickly charged and routed. Besides the main enemy body, other parties posted round the English encampment began fire, but left off firing after their main post got routed. All the principal chiefs except Vellai Marudu, seem to have been in the field that day. The English foraging party brought in an abundance of supplies; but only 2½ furlongs of the road could be cut.

5th August. The jungle got thicker and harder to cut; and though there was but little opposition this day, only 2 furlongs' length of road could be cut.

6th August. This day the enemy obstructed the cutting operations from a sheltered post which they had scooped out behind a high bank; and their four guns were all directed on the cutting party. They defended this post with great resolution, killing and wounding many. They always contrived to drag away their dead and wounded except only when they were closely pursued. This unusual strain made possible only the cutting of just over a furlong this day.

7th August. The enemy continued firing from this post till the bank was stormed and taken in the flank, but succeeded in carrying off all their guns, as well as all their killed and wounded. Any pursuit of them was impossible in the impenetrable jungle. Only 350 yards of road was cut that day.

8th August. The enemy reoccupied the post from which they were driven the previous day and the bank was found again raised, hedged and defended. It had to be attacked again on the flank on the right side and taken. The pagoda of Kālaiyārkōil was this day visible to the covering party who returned to camp after seeing to the cutting of 500 yards.

9th August. This day the English reoccupied the bank which was a square of 30 yards and themselves fortified it so as to use it as a post for themselves. By the evening it was built into a fairly useful redoubt for 300 men and 3 guns. From the top of a tamarind tree on the bank both Kālaiyārkōil and Siruvayal were visible to the eye.

10th August. The new redoubt was defended by a body of 100 Europeans and 200 sepoys. Reinforcements from Captain Blackburne were approaching from Arantangi on the north-east.

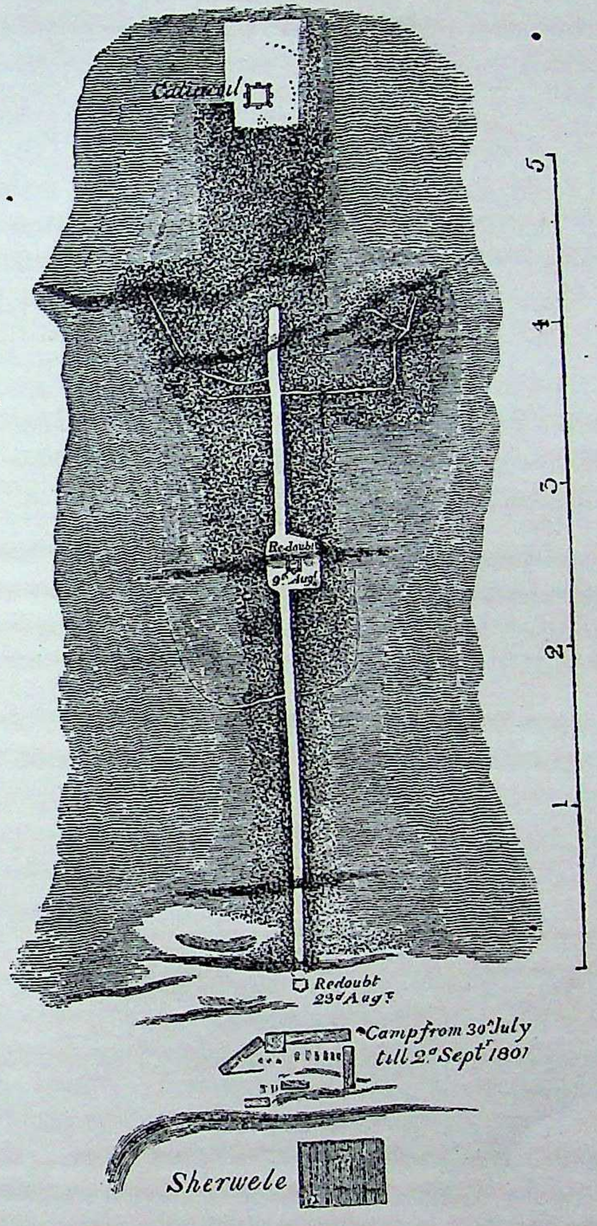
11th August. The foraging party brought in an abundance of supplies and the working party encountered no opposition. Nearly 2 furlongs of the road was cut, and now the distance to the pagoda of Kālaiyārkōil was estimated to be 1½ miles.

12th August. A good deal of firing was directed by the enemy at the English pickets, but without doing much injury. Two furlongs' length of road was cut.

13th August. The foraging party which was accompanied by the troops of Ettayapuram, was attacked on the march; but when the Europeans made a charge, the enemy became cautious and directed their attack on the Ettayapuram men only who however showed great grit and steadiness and repulsed all the charges, firing effectively with the English ammunition served out to them. The enemy losses on this day were nearly 200 killed and wounded. Barely a little over a furlong of the road was cut, as the jungle was getting much thicker and the trees much harder.

14th August. The working party cut 350 yards and saw distinctly the Kālaiyārkōil pagoda which was only about one mile distant.

15th August. This day the enemy brought three guns to bear upon the head of the road from an invisible position and also kept up a constant fire of musketry, matchlocks and *jingalls* from both the flanks and the rear as well, and in consequence the working party could not at all function that day; and, along with the covering party, had to retreat to the redoubt erected in the middle of the road. They could not return to the first camp at the Siruvayal and of the road, until they were relieved by another party at the redoubt, because the enemy gun fire proceeded from a spot to its right.


Redoubt
9th Augt
Redoubt
23d Augt
Camp from 30th July
till 2d Septr 1801
Sherwele
1
2
3
4
5

Operations in the Siruvayal Jungle to build a road to Kalayarkoil.

—From *Welsh's Military Reminiscences.*

16th August. The English perceived that the bank from which the enemy had fired on the previous day was strongly fortified and that only a few could advance on it at a time, as it was a high bank sloped down with a thick abbatis and with thorns scattered in front. The road cutting work was thus completely impeded.

17th August. A column of the working party which was divided into two, cut a small road to the right of the main pathway, of about 1200 yards in length, and the other column kept up a constant common fire on the enemy until the former returned to camp.

18th August. Both the working and covering parties followed the small road on the right made on the preceding day and cut a further 500 yards of it after which, when they had to cross a bank, they were exposed to a sudden and heavy fire from which the officer commanding the party, Colonel Innes, had a narrow escape.

19th August. The English now made an attempt to capture the enemy's guns, and, pursuing the route of the previous day, occupied a new bank where they posted a gun. The enemy fired several *sarabogies* (park guns for firing salutes etc., but not used in war) evidently for assembling their whole force. Suddenly after a while, they opened a tremendous fire all round the English post, while not even one of them could be descried from the latter. But ascertaining that they were operating on the right flank, the English party formed their men into a column four deep, facing outwards with a gun on each flank and occupying the whole road. The body thus formed commenced firing when the enemy had approached within ten yards — the infantry sitting on the ground saving many lives. The enemy fire ceased after a time; but so very quickly had they moved round, that the danger of their covering on the English working party had to be averted by a retrogade movement of the latter that saved them just at the nick of time. Colonel Agnew was naturally much disappointed at this unexpected development as he had hoped to have the enemy guns from their invisible battery easily captured.

20th August. The working party was not sent out at all this day; but the redoubt on the road was guarded; and only a foraging party was sent out.

21st August. But little work was done, except that another smaller road to the left of the main path was cut, opposite to the one cut out on the right. At this time there was a heavy downpour of rain.

23rd August. Colonel Innes went over to Tirumayam, the depot for the British, for bringing supplies, and taking letters which were for the first time despatched from the field since the army began its march from Okkur 25 days previously.

A redoubt was constructed at the commencement of the road from Siruvayal into the jungle for keeping up communication with the second redoubt in the middle of the road; and the main camp was removed 600 yards nearer the Siruvayal pagoda which had meanwhile been carefully fortified and had its wings extended backwards so as to form a parallelogram, having the village for one face exactly in the rear of the centre.

24th August. Some ground was cleared round the reboubt in the middle of the road.

25th August. The enemy now made an attack on this redoubt from both sides as well as from the rear and front, in the road itself. They kept up a heavy fire on it and fired also on the working party on its return to camp.

26th-27th August. Two working parties now operated again in the jungle; and the supplies convoyed by Colonel Innes from Tirumayam were reinforced at Tirupattur.

28th August. The fort of Tirupattur was secured before the enemy could arrive at the place.

29th August. The convoying troops of Colonel Innes reached the village of Pattimangalam after overcoming several skirmishing enemy parties on the way.

30th August. Since the march from Pattimangalam was the last stage during which the enemy could prevent the junction of the reinforcements with the main camp, their men lined every bank and point of eminence and their attacks were so persistent and continuous that on either side of the march-route of the English, "one party was no sooner beaten than another appeared." The English now began to suspect that the Pānchālamkurichi Poligar chiefs were either absent from the Marudus' forces or had been destroyed in the previous actions. The English had not only to protect a very large convoy of provisions against the enemy troops who had perfect knowledge of the terrain, but also to safeguard the person and camp of Udaya Tevar, the new zamindar whom they had undertaken to set up.

From daylight till past noon the march to Siruvayal lasted. The burden of watch and attack fell to the Scotch brigade which formed the advanced guard of the troops. The enemy fired their guns skilfully, carefully keeping them out of English reach and at the same time plied them most vigorously, but as their balls were made of pewter, they did not hit severely.

After reaching Siruvayal, Udaya Tevar paid a ceremonial visit to Colonel Agnew. The latter now resolved to quit Siruvayal, without further prosecuting the attempt to reach Kālayārkōil from this side and thus abandoned the labours of an entire month which had cost so many lives and widespread disease and sickness in camp.

31st August-1st September. The working party thereupon destroyed all the outcome of their thirty-two days' handwork in the jungle, and this they fully accomplished; they demolished all the redoubts and burnt all the brushwood in their neighbourhood.

2nd September. The whole force now marched back to Okkur from which it had first proceeded in the end of June.

V

C. *Further Operations*

Near Okkur, on S.S.W. was the large village of Sholavaram with a pagoda surrounded by a perfect wall and the ruins of an adjoining mud fort. Nearby was the famous village of Nālukōttai from whose headmen the Marava chiefs of Sivaganga got the tradition sanction which was necessary for their installation in the samasthanam. This sanction was now got for Udaya Tevar; and the Shōlavaram pagoda was also garrisoned and strengthened.

3rd September. Nothing important occurred for about a week, except an occasional skirmish or two with straggling bodies of the enemy.

12th September. Udaya Tēvar was formally installed by Colonel Agnew as the Zamindar of Sivaganga, after the necessary religious ceremonies had been performed at the pagoda on Sholavaram. The abundant rains which now fell filled up the tanks and produced lush green grass all over the ground; and this factor indicated, in the popular mind, the showering of divine favour on the English *protēge.*

On the 17th September, a party moved up first to Mēlur, the route in the final stage being covered by sheets of water and growing paddy crops. From here the men waded through mud and water, dragging the guns themselves where the cattle were insufficient, till they reached Singapidary about 4½ miles from Piramalai. A faint-hearted attack on the hill temple of Piramalai was stayed for a while by a volley of musket shot from the enemy troops inside; but a cavalry charge with galloper guns turned the scale ; and the temple came into English possession.

The detachment returned from Piramalai to the camp at Okkur (21st September); and strong body of troops was sent to garrison the captured temple.

Piramalai was a solid stone fort "embracing the declivity of a rocky projection, nearly perpendicular, from a rugged and lofty mountain ; it had two entire walls, and a fortified pettah outside the whole ; each of the two outer places was completely commanded by the walls of the inner one, which was forty feet high, and perfectly impenetrable, being cut out of the solid rock, with a mere parapet of stone, added above the *terre plein*. There are tanks of water within each wall, and a fine spring from the rocks in the upper fort, with many strong and capital buildings in the choultry form, in both forts ; and one in particular in the upper so connected with the rock, as not only to command both forts, but every part of the pettah also, and a most interesting and extensive veiw of the country for thirty miles round." From this spot one could distinctly see the pagodas of Kunnakkudi, Kāļayārkoil and Tirukkōshtiyur, the Mēlur hills and Anaimalai near Madura, but not Sikandarmalai. (Tirupparankunram) and Alagiri.

Welsh continues :—"The mountain, or Pigeon Hill, as its name signifies, is immensely high and rugged, and craggy to such a degree, that I do not think any man could climb to the summit ; the fort is, indeed, so situated under a projecting precipice, that little harm could be done by an enemy, even bold enough to creep to the extremity ; still there are three bluff-rocks, or large masses of stone, a short way up, from whence sharp-shooters might annoy the garrison of the lower fort and pettah ; which, though perfectly accessible from the upper gate, appears tenable by twenty or thirty men. Yet, were an enemy even desperate enough to attack this party, and overpower them, they might still follow their opponents under cover to the very gate, and if that were shut, being in security behind a thin wall of about twenty feet high, most injudiciously built on the interior, and connecting it with the rocks, they might then burn the back entrance, or even demolish the wall ; this is a crisis, however, never likely to happen to any party of British troops."

September 27th. (Reverting to the operations against Kālaiyārkoil) The bulk of the English forces now prepared to make a new dash on Kālayārkoil. Three days later a detachment was sent to march by the old road to Siruvayal and then proceed through the road cut in the jungle to Kālayārkoil. Thus the English forces proceeded in three distinct bodies and by distinct routes towards Kālayārkoil which was reached only after enemy attacks had been dispersed in two places.

The pagoda of Kālayārkoil was a very large one "surrounded by a strong stone wall, about eighteen feet in height, and forming one angle of the fort, which was nearly dismantled." Welsh narrates the final attack as follows:—"The enemy seemed quite disheartened and bewildered, by our different attacks at the same moment, and hardly a soul appeared during the remainder of the day. We found here twentyone guns, mostly mounted, and a great quantity of stores; there were also many articles of European furniture, and amongst them, two clocks and several pier glasses. The fort had been well built and was extensive; but the town, covered by a thick hedge only, formed one face of it, and contained many excellent houses. It had, indeed, never been a place of very great strength; but our local information was never such as could be relied upon, and no European in the camp knew anything about the state of the country. I had myself, to my shame be it mentioned, actually passed through it, a few months before, and been entertained by Wella Murdoo in his place at Sherewele; but had not then the slightest idea of ever again entering it much less as a foe.

October 3. A division proceeded, through Kālayārkoil to Mangalam through a road cut in the jungle, after demolishing a barrier on the skirt of the jungle which was intended to defend the the approach from Ramnad.

While Major Macaulay who had succeeded Colonel Agnew was waiting for orders from Madras, the headmen of dozens of villages came in to take *cowle* from Udayar Tevar and brought the news that the Marudus had disbanded their forces and had hidden themselves with only 200 followers in the Shangrapoy jungles.

VI

The Sequel

Welsh's words show the miserable and unjust fate of the heroes. "What followed afterwards, was indeed, of little importance, the enemy nowhere making head against us; parties were sent to hunt them down in the different jungles, and I had the bad luck to be in full pursuit of one of the Murdoos, for whom a large reward was advertised, when a few of our ally peons fired at, wounded, and took him, close to our party; thus depriving us of about ten thousand pagodas, or four thousand pounds sterling. In a few days both the Murdoos, with their families, Catabomia Naig, Dalawai Pillay, and the Dumb Brother, were all taken and the men all hanged excepting Doraswamy, the youngest son of Cheena Murdoo, and Dalawai Pillay, who being of less consequence, were transported for life to Prince of Wales' Island, with seventy of their devoted followers; and thus ended this most harassing warfare, in which the expenditure of life had been profuse, and the result anything but honourable to the survivors."

Shortly after the campaign ended, Welsh was in command at Tuticorin where all the rebels sentenced to transportation for life were sent for embarkation; and he had "the melancholy satisfaction of lightening the chains of Doraswamy, the younger and only surviving son of my poor quondam friend Cheena Murdoo, a youth of about fifteen, condemned to perpetual banishment. With a mild and dignified resignation, this amiable young man bore his cruel fate without a murmur; but such was the melancholy expression in his fine countenance, that it was impossible to see and not commiserate him. As he was consigned to my personal charge, to connive at his escape was impossible; but being under the same roof with me, in the large fortified factory, I was enabled to free him from his ignominious fetters, and separate him from the mass of his former menials."

"Never shall I forget the day, when, on the wharf at Tuticorin, I consigned my charge over the Lieutenant Rockhead. I still seem to see the combination of affection and despair which marked the fine countenance of my young friend Doraswamy, as I handed him into the boat; and the manly and silent misery, which his companions in affliction displayed on quitting their dear native land for ever."

Mark the tragic sequel:—When Welsh landed in 1818 at Penang he received a sudden visit from a miserable decrepit old man: who, when, without the most distant recollection of his person or countenance, I demanded his name and business, looked for some time in my face, the tears ran down his furrowed cheek, and at length he uttered the word "Dora Swamy!" It came like a dagger to my heart; the conviction was instantaneous.

"The casual hearing of my name had revived his affection, and I much fear, the mistaken hope, that an advancement in rank might afford me the means of lessening of his misery. He even entreated me to be the bearer of letters to his surviving family, but this I understood was contrary to the existing orders; since, though I found the Governor, the late Colonel Bannerman, my former commanding officer, kind and considerate, it did not appear to rest with him, and I was compelled to decline. Let me however, in conclusion, express a hope that this narrative may fall into the hands of some kind-hearted Director of that honourable Company, which I served so long, and be the means of alleviating if not entirely removing the sufferings of an innocent man; the country being now completely settled, and no chance of any ill effects, as regards state policy, likely to accrue from such a compassionate measure."

Thus ended the last phase of the heroic resistance of the Marudus which formed a fitting sequel to the hard campaigning that the Pānchālamkurichi warriors subjected the British to.

Some Political Philosophers of Ancient South India*

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It is true that ancient India had no Herodotus or Thycydides but it did have many Aristotles and Platos of different hues and colours, of different depths and intensity, not indeed in the same philosophical garb, in which these Greeks presented themselves and dressed their thoughts and ideals but men who gave more practical suggestions that were of better use for their times. We have a long line of philosphers of this description beginning from the times of Śukra and his famous work the Śukranīti, Kauṭalya with his Arthaśāstra, and Kāmandaka who wrote an epitome of this wise treatise down to our own day and if we choose to dig from the mines of our Vedic and Epic lore, we would find that India had reached great heights of political philosophy even in times of yore, many thousands of years before the Christian era. The famous Gītā supposed to have been a series of instructions from Lord Krishṇa to the Pāṇḍavas during the Mahābhārata war is nothing but a political treatise on the military side. Small wonder then that it was left to a man like Megasthenes, a Greek, of great parts who had been fitted with ambassadorial rank in the court of Chandragupta Maurya to admire the politics of Kauṭalya and record it in his commentary.

The wealth of many of these Indian philosophers has been to a large extent properly appraised by scholars both Indian and foreign in times gone by. But there lived a group of thinkers at about the same time and perhaps a few centuries later in the southern part of this vast country who were doing similar service to the public men of their day with their political maxims and instructions very much in the same way as their confreres of the north. To these men not enough justice has yet been done by orientalists and historians, though it was to them in a particular sense that they left their writings to be known and made known.

From a host of such men nine persons may well be said to typify the philosophy of their school and for that reason may well be considered as the 'navaraṭna' who went to adorn political science in the south as it was understood and practised in their day. They are all in the first place poets of a very high order and given honoured places in the august court of Tamil literature. They among a few others constitute what is called the Augustan age in Tamil literary history, often styled as the age of the Śangam.

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* Read at the Oriental Conference, Bombay, December, 1949.

The nine philosophical poets with whom this paper proposes to deal are Ālattūrkiḷār, Āvūrmūlamkiḷār, Ūnpottipaśunkuḍayār, Kāvirīpūmpaṭṭinattu Kārikaṇṇanār, Neṭṭimayār, Kudapulaviyanār, Piśiranthaiyār, Kapilar and Nakkīrar.

The name Alattūrkiḷār as that of Āvūrmūlamkiḷār is not the real name of the poet. They refer most probably to the place of their birth. Places with these names do exist to this day in south India as both Ālattūr and Ālanthūr in modern South Arcot and Chingleput districts and Āvūr in the modern Trichinopoly districts of the Madras Presidency, though this alone may not be evidence enough to call them as the native places of these men. This aside, the poet of Ālattūr was undoubtedly a great observer of nature, a person of much good sense, upright and just and endowed with much natural intelligence. In a Śangam anthology called Kuruntogai,[1] consisting of short verses, he compares the cry of a bird called *Kanantil* to a warning issued to an army of the approaching enemy. The commentator tells us that this was a large-sized bird which was found always in groups.

In all the numerous anthologies pertaining to the Śangam period, his are only seven short poems, all of which refer to two Chola kings Kiḷḷivalavan and Nalankiḷḷi and these few poems have made him sufficiently famous, since through them he shows his great eye for nature and his understanding of the royal office with its responsibilities. Perhaps few poets of the age have excelled him in his fearless righteousness.

The Chola king Nalankiḷḷi is considered as the son of Karikāla the great[2] and was trained from the beginning in the art of war. The tragedy of the war of succession had begun to cast its shadow over the incipient Chola empire even in the days of Karikāla, who is said to have literally burnt his leg in an attempt to escape from his foes. A contemporary poet, Kōvūrkilār sings of Nalankiḷḷi with a bit of understandable exaggeration in the following way "The two umbrella (of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra) follow thy peerless umbrella which is raised aloft resplendent in the sky like the full moon. Ambitious of fair fame thou wouldst stay nowhere but in thy victorious camp. Thy elephants chafe, whose tusks are blunt with battering the walls of thy enemies' forts. Eager for fight thy soldiers, who wear anklets, make nothing of marching through wide stretches of forests to reach the enemy country. Thy war steeds starting from the Eastern sea stay not till the waves of the western ocean wash their hoofs ; in fine the kings of the North keep watch with sleepless eyes, as they dread the possibility of their marching against them ".[3] This along with many other poems[4] undoubtedly give us the indication that this king was in a way monarch of all he surveyed, that he defeated and killed his rival, Nedunkiḷḷi on the field of Kāriyāru and gave in succession to the great ruler Kiḷḷivalavan an undisputed mastery over the entire southern region.

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[1] Kuruntogai (Ed. Swaminatha Iyer), No. 350.

[2] K. A. N. Śāstri: Colas, I, p. 46.

This ruler Kiḷḷivalavan is sung in eighteen verses by ten different poets all of whom emphasise his greatness and importance and offer him useful advice. One from a little known poet, Veḷḷaikkudi Nakanār, deserves to be quoted in extenso as it gives a summary of what a king ought to be.[5] As an example the following translations of Pope may be read :

> "Let me speak out to this rich country's king ! Be easy of access at fitting time, as though the Lord of Justice sat to hear and right decree. Such kings have rain in their dominions at their will. The clouds thick gather round the sun and rest in vault of heaven. So let thy canopy of state challenge the sky, and spread around not gloom but peaceful shade. Let all thy victories be the toiling ploughman's gain. Kings get the blame, whether rains fail or copious flow, and lack the praise : such is the usage of the world. If thou hast marked and known this well reject the wily counsels of malicious men. Lighten the load of those who till the soil. The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this thy stubborn foes shall slowly bend beneath thy feet ".[6]

In one of the poems attributed to Ālathūrkilār, he is represented as giving advice to this ruler to give up his siege of Karur, the capital of the Cērās because of the shame that would attach to his conquest of a weak ruler like the Cērā king.[7] The poet also advises him against false pretences. There is no doubt that Kiḻḻivaḷavaṉ was, after Karikāla, the greatest Chola king of the Śangam time. We are therefore surprisingly pleased to come across a poet like Āvūrmulamkiḻār advising him against unseemly pretensions and unnecessary assumptions in his behaviour with others.[8]

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[3] Puṛam 31 in Kanakasabhai's Trans, Tamils 1800 years ago, p. 73.

[4] The Puram alone consists of 14 verses concerning him.

[5] Puṛam 35.

[6] Rev. G. U. Pope : IA. XXIX, pp. 251-52.

[7] Puṛam 36.

The Śangam poets give endless exhortations to the reigning kings of their times about justice being the basis of good administration. The expression of Nakkīrar

"அறநெறி முதற்றே யரசின் கொற்றம்"[9]

exactly means this; and explaining the same he says that a king should never waver from justice because one is his friend and another is his foe and must deal cut to everyone justly according as he deserves without any reference to personal prejudices.[10] He must neither fear nor fondle and quotes the sun and the moon as good comparisons for the fearlessness and the amiability which a good king ought to show towards his subjects according to the varying demands of time and circumstances.[11] A whole treatise could be written on the nature of fearlessness and amiability which the poet expects of the just king and the aptness of the comparison here instituted. The sun and the moon are heavenly bodies not belonging to the earth; yet they are indispensable necessaries for the earth to live. Such is the conception of the poet with regard to the position of the king in his realm; a kind of philosophical abstraction is here contemplated, in the kingdom, yet not of it. Thus it would appear that long before political writers brought in the comparison between the sun and the moon in their discussions on medieval politics in Europe, Tamil poets in the south of India had brought in this conception for the exemplification of a better thesis and in a way more apt.

Though war in ancient India was a matter of common occurrence and an event in which not only the king and his army but all and sundry took a real interest, we do not fail to come across poets who deprecate violence as such. Such is a song in the Śangam collections which urges peace between Nalankiḻḻi and Nedunkiḻḻi, both presumably sons of Karikāla the great. In Kanakasabhai's translation it reads as under:

"He (Nedunkiḻḻi) does not wear the white flower of the palm. He does not wear the garland of the dark-boughed margosa. Thy garland is a wreath of the ār, and so is that of him who wages war with thee. If either of you loses the battle, it is your house that loses; in the nature of things, it is impossible that both of you win. Your action, therefore, forebodes no good to your race; this strife will rejoice other kings who like you ride on pennaned chariots ".[12]

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[8] Puṛam 40, 1. 9.

[9] Puṛam 55.

[10] Purananuru (U. V. Swaminatha Iyer), p. 140.

[11] Puṛam 55.

Another beautiful poem translated by Rev. Pope rings a similar note,[13] and many more of this type can be found in the Śangam collections. It is here that the poet Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāveripūmpaṭṭinam is to be mentioned for his effort to induce peace between the warring Colās and the Pāṇḍyās. In a long poem of exhortation[14] he tells them, that their mutual fight is bound to give a handle to the foreign invader who may envelope both of them under his rule. Many other poets sing on the ethics of war and they tell the kings, that if fight they must, they must never try to win by treachery,[15] and in no case put the civil population into trouble. The poet Neṭṭimaiyār exhorts that a king should invade the enemy country only after giving due notice for the evacuation of the Brahmans, women, children, sick men and cows.[16]

As against war, the duty of the king to protect his realm is set forth in great relief in the poems of this age. Thus the poet Kudapulaviyanār says that the first duty of the king is improvement of cultivation, and that he should create a plentiful supply of food in his kingdom.[17] His famous line

" உண்டி கொடுத்தோர் உயிர் கொடுத்தோரே "

meaning "he who gives food gives life" is a common quotation still repeated often by the Tamil speaking people. Relevant to this subject, the question of taxation is taken up. Piśirāntaiyār, another poet of this age, instructs the Pāṇḍyā king Arivuḍai nambi to be moderate in his taxation and gives as his argument that moderate taxes keep the treasury full and the people contented, while immoderate taxes soon leave the coffer empty and the people discontented. He further illustrates his point by bringing in the example of an elephant which is kept and fed at proper intervals and another which is allowed to roam freely over fields ripe for the harvest in search of food.[18] The elephant roams, and destroys very much more than it eats. Though it seems to enjoy for a while, soon the day dawns when there is nothing to eat and both the elephant and the people are unhappy. Surely, this is a comparison totally original and wholly instructive.

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[12] Puṛam 45; Kanakasabhai, p. 73. The palm and margosa are the Cera and Pandya emblems respectively.

[13] IA. XXVIII, p. 29.

[14] Puṛam 58.

[15] Puram 8.

[16] Puṛam 9.

[17] Puṛam 18.

[18] Puṛam 184.

A last point in this subject is the emphasis laid by these poets on charity. The great poet Kapilar tells the Cērā king Kaḍungo Āliyāḏhan that no limit can be set on the charity which a king ought to give for "he who gives in unrestrained charity protects the world".[19] Another poet Paśungudaiyār institutes a beautiful comparison in illustration of this. "If the heavens should stop their rain saying that they have rained enough and if land should refuse yield saying that it has yielded enough that would mean the end of life".[20] That a king should ever help poverty to overcome its wants cannot perhaps be better put. Nor do the poets want that charity should be indiscriminate, as is clear from the statement of Āvūr Mulamkilār, who instructs the king to be good to the good and bad to the bad.[21] In another context, the same poet counsels the king to be decisive and not inconvenience poor people.

One could multiply the ideas set by these poets. The poets here referred to did not try to imprison pure philosophy within the charmed ring of their poems, much less did they sing away in philosophy. Poetry and philosophy have never a natural combination; essentially they aim at different ideals, the one at pure pleasure and the other at pure reason. But it is possible to cull out the truths that seem to be common to them and weave a philosophy around them. Several political ideals are here set forth all of which can be summed up under two heads, justice and benignity, which ought to be at the foundation of any good government. One more political ideal, which completes the group of these fundamental necessities of good government and that is the freedom of expression or speech to offer constructive suggestions to the government. The poets of old traversed the length and breadth of the country eager to give their opinions to the king and he for his part was always eager to receive them. There is no doubt that the same was the relation between them and the royal ministers. The poem Patirrupattu in fact describes the poet Kapilar as "one who made the royal assembly bow to his advice".[22] A code of fundamental political ideals did exist in South India in the period of the Śangam as also exponents of these ideals. Well may we call these men political philosophers of ancient South India.

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[19] Puṛam 8.

[20] Puṛam 203.

[21] Puṛam 178.

[22] Patiṟrupattu 85.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

Kalamina and Kala of India, CA. 650 A.D.

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I. St. Thomas's Burial Place

In ancient documents dating from about 200 A.D. to 1293 six places are found mentioned as the burial-sites of St. Thomas' body, as distinct from the six places of subsequent depositions of his *bones*: (1) in the west (1st cent.), (2) in Edessa (modern Urfa in upper Iraq, 232-3 A.D.), (3) in Chios Island west of Asia Minor (ca. 1144 A.D.), (4) in Ortona St. Thomas Church, in Central Italy's eastern part (in 1258), (5) in Goa St. Thomas Church, (Mylapore bones of 1522), and (6) in Mylapore Church, near Madras (bones of 1523 A.D.).

The places of first burial of the body are :—

1. A tomb of the former kings, on a mountain [1] in the kingdom of Mazdai (a king with this regular *Old-Persian* name), which was

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[1] This mountain in the kingdom of Mazdai appears as the Little Mount or St. Thomas Mount, both S.W. of San Thome in Mylapore, where, from the 13th century, the body of St. Thomas or of a Muslim saint has been said to have been buried in the first century (in 68 A.D. acc. to Mylapore, or in 72 acc. to Malabar), or (in the case of the Muslim) in some year between 622 and 1293 A.D.

W. Germann (*Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, 1877, pp. 272-3, quoting *Novus Orbis*, p. 95, and referring to Raulin, 385) says: (After Sept. 22, 1500 A.D., the date of Cabral's arrival in Calicut, while he was in Cochin lading his ships), he "evaded the danger" (from the Zamorin's fleet's attack on them) "they came to a certain Island where the body of St. Thomas rests. The chief of this island received the Christians very honourably and gave to ours relics of the holy body in token of friendship".

Which island was this? Cabral evaded the Zamorin's ships by "gaining the high seas and making use of a north wind, which the enemy, accustomed to hug the coasts, did not know". It was the N.E. Monsoon wind of October and subsequent months. So the island could not have been Mylapore, and before 1523 and 1522, when St. Thomas' bones and other relics were taken out from two St. Thomas tombs opened by the Portuguese in those two years, there were no relics of St. Thomas there capable of being presented to Cabral (1500 A.D.) or others. Was Barbosa then (1500) with Cabral, or with distant only about a day's journey by bullock-cart from the kingdom of Gundaphar (or Gudnaphar) "King of the Indians", and of his brother Gad, identified by modern historians with the Parthian king Gudaphara (= Gk. Gondophares, A.D. 19 to *ca.* 55) of Taxila, in the Panjab, and Guda or Gadana, a relative of Gudaphara. King Mazdai was probably a Viceroy under Gudnaphar. The mountain, the royal dynasty's tomb there, and the above three royal names are mentioned in the Syriac *Acts of Judas Thomas,* of A.D. 200-220. If the identification of Gudnaphar and Gad with the Taxila king Gudaphara and his relative Guda or Gadana mentioned in contemporary coin-legends is accepted, St. Thomas' (temporary) burial tomb on a mountain must have been in the Taxila region in North Panjab, and not in Mylapore far away in E. India.

The above *Acts* says that in king Mazdai's life-time itself the royal tomb of the saint was opened by him; but he could not find the bones in it as they had been "secretly removed by the brethren to the west". This first removal was not to Edessa far to the N. W. of Taxila, because it was in or shortly after 232-3 A.D. that the bones were obtained (by a merchant as St. Sphrem says about 363 A.D.) from "the princes of India, to whom the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus wrote at the request of the Christians of Edessa", when he conquered it in 232-3 A.D. These particulars within quotation marks are mentioned in the Latin work *Passio Thomae* of *ca.* 500 A.D. The first transfer of the Apostle's bones 'to the

his uncle at Cannanore? Barbosa the historian came in 1500 with P. A. Cabral.

The only island to which the north wind could take Cabral's ships from Cochin was the Maldiv group S.W. of Cochin. And we are fairly sure that "the two Islands *Male* and Female, lying about 30 miles distant from one another, ... (where) the people are all baptized Christians", described by Marco Polo (ca. 1293) are the *Male*-dives and the Lacca-dives, though Marmadit where (and in Ceylon and Socotra) Elias, Metropolitan of Damascus (A.D. 893) locates a Bishop "subject to Persia", may not be the Maldives, but Marma-goa in Goa.

How, and when, did the tradition arise that St. Thomas' body rested in the Maldives? Was it an undecayed body like the two (in Edessa, not elsewhere) of St. Thomas, mentioned by Mar John III (ca. 1122) and by Bp. Eschilinus (*florit* 1370), or like the undecayed hand or arm and finger of St. Thomas still shown in Italy? Preservation of dead bodies of human beings was practised in the East, among the Mongols, for instance. See *Marco Polo,* Vol. I, 1903. St. Xavier's body is still preserved in Goa, we know. The body of Alexander the Great was preserved for some time in honey.

west' was probably to the palace [2] or the Church of King Gudnaphar who had already been converted to Christianity by the Saint (say in *ca.* 32 A.D., or in *ca.* 40 A.D. according to Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Taxila,* Calcutta, 1918, p. 21). King Mazdai it was, who had St. Thomas killed by his (four) soldiers with spears, and "the brethren", i.e. the St. Thomas Christians in Gudnaphar's and Mazdai's territories had therefore reason to fear that the tomb and the bones of "the Hebrew sorcerer who had bewitched Mazdai's queen, his son and others" (i.e. made them Christians) would not be safe on the Apostle's enemy's mountain. So they removed them "secretly" to the capital of Gundaphar to the west of Mazdai's mountain.

2. The other place of first (permanent) burial in India is our *Calamina,* a town of India in the easternmost part of Parthia, which extended "from the Tigris to the Indus", and had the river Jhelum in it. This Calamina we shall deal with at some length in the sequel. It could not have been Mylapore on the east coast of South India, but was probably the second site (to the west) mentioned above, in para 3, 1. 4.

3. The third place of original burial of St. Thomas' body is said to be Mylapore, the actual site of one tomb being called San Thome (= St. Thomas). It seems that the site was called by this very name by Friar Jordanus (1321-27 A.D.) who said he was going south from Thana north of Bombay to Quilon (in Travancore) and to "*St. Thomas*", evidently the tomb-site since called

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[2] Latin *Passio Thomae* (ca. 500 A.D.) gives the name of Gundaphar's city as Eliophorum. This may be the truncated form of the Taxillan *Prakrit* corruption of Sanskrit Taksha-*śilāpuram* (= the city of Taxila), the name of Gondophorus' city. Śilāpuram or its Taxillan vernacular form, heard by the author of the *Passio* (6th century), or other Europeans could become Eliophorum, which occurs also in the Latin text of the Mozarabic Breviary. In the early part of that 6th cent. Cosmas (ca. 525) found multitudes of Christians in N.W. India — in the Hun empire of Mihira-*Gula,* whom he calls "Gollas". From those Christians, or those who had visited them, the author of the *Passio* could get the name of the ancient capital city, and some other details he has included in his book — e.g., (1) that in Sandaruk, the city in which St. Thomas first landed on his way to the mouth of the Indus, "there is *still* the see of St. Thomas there", (2) that to meet King Mazdai St. Thomas went (from Gundaphar's kingdom) to "Superior India", i.e. India up the river Indus. He converted Sandaruk into Andra-polis; so to him Silāpuram could be Ilāpuram, or Elio-phorum, *a la Latin.* See note 19.

He mentions also "Mount Gazi" of Eliophorum, which may be Mount Hathial of Taxila. *Hathi* of Hathial could become Gazi in the Latin author's mouth.

San Thome, by the Portuguese (after 1498). This tomb is on the sea-shore, and not on a mountain, nor to the west of a mountain as was the case in the description given in the Syriac *Acts* (200-220) cited above. The two mounts (St. Thomas Mount and the Little Mount) near the Mylapore tomb are respectively 5 miles and 2 miles S. W. of the San Thome tomb now inside the San Thome Cathedral. Neither was it in the easternmost part of Parthia as St. Isidore said in ca. 630 (see *infra*).

4. Besides the above there was another St. Thomas tomb in San Thome, opened in 1522. Its contents are in Gao. See No. 5 of para 1 above. No. 3 above in San Thome was opened in 1523, its contents being in San Thome Cathedral, No. 6 of para 1 above. See note 24.

5. The big tomb of St. Thomas and his priest in Tiruvāmcode church yard, South Travancore, See Note 16.

6. The Maldiv tomb of 1500 A.D., in Note 1, paras 2 ff.

And although the Alexandrians,[3] the Arabs, and the East Syrian Christians (Nestorian and pre-Nestorian) of Iraq and Iran, and also China and Italy had commercial or ecclesiastical relations with South India by sea in the early centuries, no mention[4] of St. Thomas' work, death, or tombs in Mylapore, or pilgrimages thereto is found in their documents so far discovered, the earliest definite mention of a Mylapore tomb, miracles, and pilgrimages being by Marco Polo in 1293. See his *Travels,* Vol. II, Bk. 3, Ch. 18, and 17. The mention of St. Thomas' burial in Mahluph, by Mar Solomon, Metropolitan of Basrah (ca. 1222), is not decisive as the

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[3] The name Muziris for the most ancient Malabar port and emporium cannot be derived from Tamil. Was it a Misri port ?, i.e. a port of the people of Misr = Egypt. Sala-Misri is the Malayalam name of a kind of foreign tuber (of the plant Orchis Mascula ?). The name means salep of Misr, Egypt., *Thaleb Misri* is its Arabic name. Ptolemy of Egypt (ca. 140) mentions (before Islam was founded) Muziris, and other localities in Malabar. So Muziris cannot be from the Arabic word Musrik denoting non-Muslims, infidels.

[4] Arab travellers mention Betumah, which is wrongly interpreted as Baith-Toma, i.e. the house of Thomas, and identified with Mylapore. Col. Gerini says it is *Tamus,* or *Tamarus promontorium* of Strabo, Mela, etc., commonly called *Samara* after the fifth century. The Malays call it *Tamasak* and the Chinese *Tan-ma-hsi.* See his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia,* Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. I, London, 1909, p. 199. In his Synoptical Map in that volume Betumah is marked east of Singapore, as the S.E. extremity of the Malaya Peninsula.

MSS. (known till 1925 to Dr. J. Leveen of the British Museum) differ in their texts thus :—

"Thomas was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians, and because he baptised the daughter" (no, the wife, son and sister, says the *Acts* of 200-220) "of the king of the Indians" (viz. King Mazdai, and not Gundaphar) "he stabbed him with a spear" (no, his soldiers did it), "and he died. Habban the merchant" (no, Khabin), "brought his body" (wrong, for bones), "and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of our Lord. Others say that he was buried in Mahluph, a city in the land of the Indians".—*Vide* his *Book of the Bee* in Syriac.

The variant readings are :—

(a) "He taught in India, and Sind, and Persia".

(b) "He was buried in India". These are found in the Oxford MS. of the *Book of the Bee.* Was Muhluph in the original MS. by Mar Solomon ? None can say. His contemporary, the Syrian Mar Jesu-sab, Bishop of Soba or Nisibis near Edessa (in office A.D. 1190-1222 and later), says vaguely like the Oxford MS. thus : "Besides, we too have ...... the corpse of Saint Thomas the Apostle in India", because the body was buried on Mazdai's mountain in some part of India as the Syriac *Acts* told the Bishop. Other ancient Syriac works also mention India vaguely,

e.g. (i) *The Doctrine of Addai,* ca. 200.
(ii) *The Doctrine of the Apostles,* ca. 260.
(iii) *St. Ephrem's Hymns,* ca. 363, well-known to the Bishop.

This Bishop had probably died before Mar Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus (b. 1226, d. 1286), the most notable of Syriac authors, wrote (a) in his Syriac *Chronicle* that St. Thomas' "body was buried at Calmania" (in India), and "thence translated to Edessa", and (b) in *Horreum Mysteriorum* that "Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Indians, and was killed at Calamina and his body" (i.e. his bones) "was translated to Edessa". Bar-Hebraeus[5] the well-read historian, and a contemporary of Marco

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[5] Bar-Hebraeus or Ab'l-Faraj (1226-86), Maphrian or Catholicus of the Monophysite church, wrote several works in Syriac and Arabic. Born at Malatiah on the Upper Euphrates, he was made bishop of *Gūbās* near it in 1246. In 1253 he was bishop of Aleppo ; in 1264 he was made Maphrian. His great historical work is the *Chronicle* in Syriac, the first part of which deals with secular events from the creation downwards, the 2nd mainly with the patriarchate of Antoch, and the 3rd with the eastern half of the Syrian church.

Polo who in 1293 heard several diverse particulars about the Mylapore tomb, the Muslim *havarian* or St. Thomas buried in it, and the Muslim and Christian pilgrimages to the tomb, had chances of hearing the same details from pilgrims or others who had been to Mylapore or to Malabar. And he must have read also the Edessene works the *Acts* and the *Preaching of the Holy Apostles*,[6] and other Syriac writings, and Church documents (the liturgies, calendars, breviaries, martyrologies, &c.), and found in them a mountain of India or Calamina alone mentioned as the place of the Apostle's burial. Yet he did not reject Calamina in favour of Mylapore, or assert that the two are identical. Even the Malabar Syriac liturgy, the Catholics' *Dukhrana Office* for the octave of St. Thomas, and other Malabar Syriac records have not dared to give Mylapore[7] or even Calamina definitely as the burial place of St. Thomas.

II. Calamina, Kalamine

The earliest known datable mention of Calamina, (Latin form) seems to be by St. Isidore[8] of Seville in Spain, who died in 636 A.D. In that voluminous writer's *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* (" of doubtful authenticity "?) we find :

"Therefore, this Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes, up to the furthest eastern part (*ad extremam orientalem plagam*) and there preached the gospel" (to the Indians also, by implication) " and suffered martyrdom. Indeed, being pierced with a lance, he died at Calamina, a town of India, and was honourably buried there on the 12th before the Kalends of January" (= December 21).

In his *Etymologiarum Liber* the same author says : "From the frontiers of India as far as Mesopotamia (this land) is generally called Parthia. On account of the unconquered strength of the

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[6] *The Preaching of the Apostles* is different from the *Doctrine of the Apostles* (ca. 260 A.D.).

[7] Of the Malabar syriac office Fr. Bernard the reputed Malabar church historian says : "The Divine Office for the feast of July 3rd is the most ancient and appears to have been composed by the Indian Prelates of the first or second century". A (Tamil) St. Thomas "*Charitam*" (= History) finished in 72 A.D. is also said to exist. But no copy of it has yet been discovered, nor has evidence of its existence at any time been adduced so far.

[8] Isidorus Hispalensis (ca 570-636), Spanish encyclopedist and historian, was famous as a doughty opponent of the Arians. He was ordained bishop in 609. His chief work is *originum sive etymologiarum libri* XX (between 622 and 633). *De ortu ac obitu patrum* qui Scriptura laudibus efferuntur, from which we have quoted, is said to be "of doubtful authenticity' in *Ency. Brit.*, 1946. If so is it earlier or later than ca. 630 ? See IV, end.

Parthians" whose rule had ended in 222 A.D., four centuries before Isidore) "both Assyria and other neighbouring regions changed their names to that of Parthia. There are, therefore, in it Arachosia (= modern Kandahar), Parthia, Assyria, Media and Persia, which being united to one another begin from the river Indus and are enclosed by the Tigris. They are mountainous and rugged, having the rivers Hydaspes" (= Sanskrit Vitastā modern Jhelum, about 100 miles to the east of even the Indus given by him as the boundary) "and Arbis".

Two centuries before Isidore, Orosius (d. 417) wrote (in *Hist. Lib. 1·2*) to the same effect thus: "From the river Indus, which is in the East, as far as the river Tigris, which is in the West these are the regions: Aracosia (= modern Kandahar), Parthia, Assyria, and Media. They are mountainous and rugged. ....the chief rivers....Hydaspes (= the Jhelum, east of the Indus) are in the middle of these" (i.e. between Mount Caucasus, the northern boundary, and the Southern Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf). "In these there are 32 tribes. But generally the country is called Parthia, although Holy Scripture calls the whole Media".

St. Isidore (or a Pseudo-Isidore ?), we see, locates Calamina in India in the furthest eastern part of Parthia where there was not only the Indus but also the Jhelum, about 100 miles to the east of it. By the furthest eastern part he did not mean the easternmost (Mylapore or other) parts of India proper, or of Asia with China as the extreme oriental region. And no document prior to the 13th century — (not even the Malabar Catholic Syriac *Office* for the 8 days' *dukhrana* (= remembrance) of St. Thomas, alleged[9] to have been composed in Malabar in the 1st or 2nd century) — expressly mentions Mylapore, or even Coromandel or Chola[10] or Betuma as the burial place of St. Thomas.

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[9] See note 7.

[10] According to Malabar Christian tradition, which is not found recorded in any form, wholly or partly, before the 13th century, St. Thomas came to build a palace for the Chola King whose Hindu name is not found mentioned, though in the Syriac *Acts* of 200-220 he is Gundaphar, whom scholars have identified with Gudaphara, the Parthian King (19—ca. 60 A.D.) of N.W. India.

Recently Malabar writers began to admit that, as authoritative historians say, St. Thomas went to N.W. India on his first missionary journey, and add that thereafter he came to South India along with Habban in 50 A.D. or 52 A.D. etc. from there direct, or after returning to Jerusalem, and built a palace for the Chola King. Those writers have nothing to say about the palace built for Gudnaphar, or about Habban's accompanying him to Gundaphar's city also, except that the *Acts* (200-220) is wrong, and the Malabar tradition is right.

The Latin work *Passio Thomae* (ca. 500 A.D.) says without mentioning the name Sandaruk (probably Alek-*Sander-uk*, i.e. Alexandria among the Oritae, founded by Alexander the Great in Baluchistan, west of the river Hab, on his way back from India), that "there is there the see of St. Thomas to this day" (i.e. even in ca. 500), and adds that after meeting King Gundaphar of the Indians, and effecting miraculous cures St. Thomas went to "Superior India"—"*profectus est autem Apostolus ad Indiam superiorem per revelationem*", "i.e. further to the north, or to the south, or to the east", says Medlycott in his *Thomas*, 1905, p. 258. Why not even to the west ?

To the author of the *Passio* South India could never have been *superior* India. On the other hand N.W. India of Gondophares, through which the Jhelum and the Indus flowed as St. Isidore (d. 636), and Orosius (d. 417) said (see *ante*), was superior India. We may infer, therefore, that Isidore meant the superior part of India as the scene of St. Thomas' preaching and martyrdom.

Another *pre-Marco-Poline* record (which is not of distant Europe, but of Syria) speaks of it as "interior India", which cannot be South India or its east coast, where the "Muslim—St. Thomas tomb" was in existence in 1293 A.D. That document, a British Museum Syriac MS. of 874 A.D., says: "The Apostle Thomas preached ...... in India Interior, and taught and baptized and conferred the imposition of hands for the priesthood. He also baptized the daughter" (no, the queen, son, and daughter-in-law) "of the King of the Indians" (Mazdai, as the *Acts* says). "But they slew him with spears[11] in Kalimaiya[12] (or Kalimiya). His body was brought to Edessa and there it rests". (Body is found used instead of bones in several documents. So also head for skull). The W. Asian or Persian author who wrote as above in Syriac could not possibly describe Mylapore as situated in 'interior India'. Even in the wrong Geography of Ptolemy (ca. 140) it was not in the interior of his 'India intra Gangem', i.e. India on this side of the Ganges.

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[11] "Berumhe" is the word in the Syriac MS. It means "with spears". But some wrongly translated it as 'by Brahmins'. It was Dr. Leveen of the British Museum who found out the mistake and corrected it. The Brahmin murderer or murderers of St. Thomas figured in Malabar tradition not before the above mistaken reading and translation. The Brahmin priest very probably reflects the "Sun-temple *priest*" of the Latin *Passio*, brought to Malabar by the Portuguese.

[12] See note 28, para 2.

Authors of Latin and Syriac records mentioning Calamina (like Isidore of ca. 630, who knew Greek also, or a Pseudo-Isidore, and the author of the Syriac MS. of 874, who too probably knew Greek as many Syrians knew in the early centuries) might probably have got the name from Greek records, several of which have survived. Medlycott has cited them in his *India and the Apostle Thomas,* 1905. Some of them were possibly written by Syrian authors themselves. The specification "Superior India" found in the Latin *Passio* (ca. 500) was perhaps borrowed from the Syrians who were not far from N.W. India, or the Greeks who were scattered in all parts of the Parthian empire from B.C. 248 to A.D. 222, acc. to Wm. S. Haas, *Iran,* N.Y., 1946, p. 17).

Some Greek passages mentioning Calamina as the burial place of St. Thomas are given below:—

1. Pseduo-Hippolytus says: "And Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Magians, and was thrust through in the four members of his body with a pine spear at Kalamēnē, the city of India, and was burried there". Real Hippolytus who lived and wrote in Rome died in ca. 139. But the date of the above Pseudo-Hippolytus is not known.

In this passage *Parthians* are the hardy, warlike people of Parthia, a small district to the S.E. of the Caspian Sea. The *Medes* were in Media S.E. of Lake Urmia. *Persians* were originally the people of Parsua, west of late Urmia, but the name came to be applied to all in Persia. *Hyrcanians* were in Hyrcan, S.E. of the Caspian. *Bactrians* were those in Bactria, N. Afghanistan, between the Hindukush and the Oxus. *Magians* were the Magi (Priests), a name "derived from a Median tribe, which is identical with the Median priestly caste, or had, like the Brahmins in India, the privilege of supplying the members of the priestly profession", as W.S. Haas says in *Iran,* N.Y., 1946, p. 17.

The 2nd extract *infra* has Germans, wrongly for Karmanians, those of Kerman in the middle of East Persia. If Magians therein are not the Magi (*ante*), but Margians, these people were the inhabitants of Margiana on the river Margub (Murghab), chiefly residing in the Oasis of Merv, which has preserved the name (Margiana).

In the above extract we find the Parthians and the Medes of St. Isidore's statement (*ante,* § II) given prominence; spearing and burial in the Indian town called Calamina too are reflected. Perhaps both Isidore and Pseudo-Hippolytus borrowed those details from some other source or sources, probably in Greek or Syriac of one of the early centuries.

Pseudo-Hippolytus, like several other writers (some cited below), explains as it were the term Parthians used by Isidore by adding Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Magians to his indefinite "Parthians and Medes", a stereotyped expression used often in the Old Testament[13] in the form the "the Medes and the Persians". "The law of the Medes and Persians" has become a well-known idiom in English and some other European languages.

2. Pseudo- Dorotheus' statement is:—"Thomas the Apostle having preached the Gospel to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Germans" (ought to be Karmanians), "Bactrians and Magians, suffered martyrdom at Kalamite (wrong for Kalamine), a city of India so named". Since *n* and *t* (small) of Greek are not easily distinguishable in cursive script there is Kalamite here as a wrong reading. Real Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, is said to have flourished at the end of the 3rd century.

3. An anonymous Greek author says: "Thomas the Apostle, as the tradition of the elders discloses, preached the Gospel of Christ to the Parthians and Medes, the Persians and Germans" (wrong, for Carmanians), "the Hyrcanians and Bactrians; he fell asleep in the city of Kalamine in India". (This Greek writer's works were published with those of Oecumenius, Bishop of Trikka in Thessaly, about 990 A.D.).

4. In the same century (the 13th) as the Iraqian Bar-Hebraeus' (1226-86 A.D.) who points to "Calamina ...... away (not far) from a mountain of India which the Apostle ascended"—"*in montem* Indiae *ascendit*", as well as the century of Marco Polo's Muslim, Govi, and Christian contemporaries of 1293 A.D. in Mylapore, of whom the Muslims asserted that a Nubian Saracen *avariyan* (saint) lay buried in the tomb there, which the Christians assigned to St. Thomas, a Greek MS. recorded that "Thomas the Apostle, as has been handed down to us, preached the gospel of the Lord to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carmanians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and the Magi. He fell asleep in the city

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[13] In the New Testament too we find in the Acts of the Apostles (1st cent.) Parthia and Media linked together: ch. 2 "*Parthians, Medes, Elamites*, residents of Mesopotamia ...... visitors from Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabs", in Jerusalem heard in their own "foreign languages" whatever the Spirit prompted them to utter" (verses 9-11, and 4).

of Kalamina of India." Here too we find Isidore's Parthians and Medes expanded to include almost all the peoples of the Parthian empire of the days of St. Thomas, the Parthian King Gundaphar (Gudaphara), and (his Viceroy, or Satrap ?) King Mazdai (bearing a regular *Old-Persian*[14] name). In Bar Hebraeus' list there are "Indians" *expressly* mentioned, over and above "the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carmani, Bactrians and Magi", although in St. Isidore's statement (§ II *supra*) "Indians' are only implied in the expression "he died at Calamina, a town of India", which must naturally have had Indians in it, who too certainly heard St. Thomas' preaching to the Parthians in the town and its neighbourhood.

Early in the same 13th century in which we find the Mylapore tomb mentioned for the first time in known documents as a Muslim saint's tomb and St. Thomas's tomb, the "Constable of Armenia", i.e. the general of the army, wrote in 1248 to Henry de Lucignan, King of Cyprus, a report in which occurs this passage:

"But in the land of India where the Blessed St. Thomas preached and made converts" (unlike other parts of the Orient where the "Cham" (= the Khan) restored his Christian subjects to liberty and forbade under severe penalties that any one should offend them in deed or words), "there is yet a certain Christian king, who was much oppressed by other Saracen kings, his neighbours, who waged against him a rude and relentless war, until the Tartars came to those parts, and then he submitted to obey them, and joining arms with them, he so attacked his enemies the Saracens that he conquered a good part of the Indies", ... *Vide* F. Bergson's *Relations des Voyages en Tartarie,* Paris, 1634, pp. 303-4.

This land of India where St. Thomas preached and made converts, and where there were Muslim kings, and which the Tartars,[15] invaded and conquered in or before 1248 could not be South India. The Constable did not visit the Southern part of India, but the Christians and churches in Casrat and Canguth (= Kashgar and Tangut, near N.W. India) and perhaps also in that part of India. There was in 1248 no St. Thomas tomb or his bones there, because the bones of St. Thomas had been taken in or shortly after 232-3 A.D. to Edessa, and were in Chios in 1248, though there was a Christian king and Christian somewhere there, and possibly their church was called a St. Thomas Church. He heard of the king, and his troubles; and as from the ancient Armenian translation of the Syriac *Acts,* or from N.W. Indian tradition he knew that St. Thomas preached and died in N.W. India of Kings Gundaphar and Mazdai he could describe that Indian Christian king's and the Saracens' and Tartars' region of India as "India where the Blessed St. Thomas preached and made conversats".

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[14] Not only Mazdai, but also Vizan and Manashar, the names of his son and daughter-in-law are Old-Persian, acc. to Dr. F. C. Burkitt.

[15] The Constable's letter of 1248 falls in the reign of Nazir-ud-din (1246-66) in India, and recalls probably the invasion of India and capture of Lahore in 1241 by the Mongol hordes, though he speaks of the "Tartars".

The undated Greek documents (1 to 3) cited above are supposed by Bishop Medlycott (in *Thomas in India,* 1905, p. 161) to be of 650-750 A.D. And Fr. Hosten, S.J., says (in *Antiquities,* 1936, p. 306) that "We find Calamina again in a series of Greek lists of the Apostles, all anonymous, the dates of which may by and by be found to be respectably ancient; we find it in Syrian and Latin works, and Latin martyrologies of the 9th and 10th centuries, the authors of which we may safely think did not suddenly agree to invent it, but copied it, as conscientious historians cannot help doing, from earlier materials". (Medlycott does not cite Isidore of Seville, d. 636).

Of such materials the only one that contains the shortest list of peoples (Parthians and Medes alone, with Indians of Calamina implied) is St. Isidore's statement cited supra in this §. We may, therefore, regard it as one of the earliest, non-extravagant documents mentioning Calamina. As we come down the centuries we find Germany, South India, Ceylon, Malacca, China, etc., and even Brazil in America added to the sober, modest, list of regions evangelized by St. Thomas; we find also Qantaria (in Ethiopic *Acts of Thomas* = Gandhara), Mylapore (1293 A.D.), St. Thomas Mount S.W. of Mylapore, Tiruvāmkōdu in South Travancore,[16] Karmania[17] north of Makran in S.E. Persia, Kalayamuttūr near the

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[16] The big tomb in the southern yard of the "Tarisā" (= Syrian Christian) church (pre-Portuguese) at Tiruvāmkōṭu was, until the last generation, assigned by the parishioners to St. Thomas and a priest who came with him to that place from Mylapore along with the first century ancestors of the "Tarisas" there. St. Thomas brought them there to escape persecution. Such was the Tiruvāmcode tradition. But the present generation wisely omits from it the death and burial of St. Thomas in their parish. In course of time will his death and burial in Mylapore too be omitted from the South Indian tradition?

[17] Karmania in Persia was first suggested by W. R. Philipps in 1903 in the *Indian Antiquary,* and in 1912 or so Fr. Dahlmann, S.J., of the Catholic University, Tokyo, did the same in a book of his. Both these were thus

Palni Hills N.E. of Travancore-Cochin and west of Madura[18], and one or two other localities[19] mentioned in the course of the centuries from say 500 A.D. down to the 20th century. We find also a plethora of speculations on the identity and interpretation[20] of Calamina from the 17th to 20th century.

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disallowing South India's claim dating allegedly from 50 A.D. or 51, 52, 52-3, 67, 78, or 84 acc. to Malabar versions of the tradition, not found recorded in the first 12 centuries, or dating at least from 1293 when Marco Polo was told that the Muslims asserted that the Mylapore tomb was of a Saracen Muslim saint from Nubia.

[18] *Kalyamuttūr* (= Kalamina) was suggested recently by Mr. A. Balakrishna Pillai, M.A., of Travancore, the author of numerous articles in *The Hindu* of Madras and other papers and Journals, on historical topics. The two names have Kala-m in common, that is all.

[19] Iotha (a nominative of Iothabis) is mentioned as the place of where St. Thomas is buried (in a list of burial places of the 12) in Codex Fuldensis, the famous MS. of the Diatessaron, written for, and corrected by Victor, Bishop of Capua, in 546. The entry for Thomas is *Thomas-in-India-civitate Iothabis.*

This cannot be a reference to Calamina or Mylapore. Probably it is Iorha, i.e. Syriac URHA = Edessa, where the *bones* of St. Thomas have been since 232-3, or shortly after.

In about 500 Eliophorum is mentioned in the *Passio.* (See note 2). It cannot be Ma-*ilaipuram* (= Myalpore) as the author has only "*superior* India" as St. Thomas' place of death and burial. Dr. Medlycott says in his *India and ..., Thomas,* 1905, p. 258, that "The Latin expression 'superior', used above, is susceptible of various meanings, and can equally be applied whether the Apostle proceeded further to the north, or to the south, or to the east" (or even to the west); "it is a generic form of expression, therefore inconclusive for the purpose of indicating the direction taken. But the recital in the (Syriac) text, first given, is somewhat more definite — 'whither our Lord told him'. This further corroborates the idea that up till then Thomas had not entered that particular section of India to which by revelation he had been directed to proceed", "to erect a palatial building in India" (p. 251) for Gundaphar.

But the Lord's telling or revelation here is *not* "the vision-admonitions he received of his future destination to India" (*ibid.* p. 251), before St. Thomas met Habban *outside India,* i.e. in W. Asia, but a much later admonition received *after* his arrival and work in the cities and villages in Gundaphar's kingdom *in India,* and before his journey in a bullock cart to Mazdai's kingdom where he was martyred. This admonition is in Acts II and III and not in Act I of the Syriac text, which says: "And the Apostle went forth to go whither our Lord had told him" (while he was asleep in Gundaphar's city). "And .... he came near the second milestone" from the city. See the end of Act II, and the opening of Act III in Syriac and in Greek.

[20] Fr. A. Kircher, S.J., in 1667, seems to be the first to regard Calamina as a descriptive word, or a mere statement of a circumstance, and to interpret it as such. He said (wrongly, of course), that Calamina was Tamil *Calurmina,* meaning 'on the stone'. But there is, or was no such Tamil expression. On the stone is kallin-mel (கல்லின் மேல்) in Tamil. Perhaps he meant

But confining ourselves to the earliest mention (by St. Isidore) of Calamina as a town situated in India of the Indus-Jhelum region in the easternmost part of the Parthian empire which lasted until 222 A.D., we may suppose that the definite place-name Kalamina[21] or one of its other forms was obtained by the Church of Edessa in or shortly after 232-3 A.D., when the bones of St. Thomas came, as a result of Emperor Alexander Severus' letter asking for the relics, to the "Princes of India" (as the Latin *Passio,* of about 500 A.D. definitely informs us). Several princes of Parthian India had to be addressed probably because Edessa could not tell Severus which particular king of that easternmost part of the then recently (in 222 A.D.) ended Parthian empire had St. Thomas' tomb in his territory. The decade A.D. 222 to 232-3 must naturally have been a nebulous transition period, only very vaguely known to Edessa (called "Edessa of the Parthians" in olden times), situated far away in the N.W. corner of that Empire.

We may suppose that it was a Greek form of the Indian name (perhaps Kalawan) that was taken to Edessa by Severus's agent (named Khabin in some records). For Dr. William S. Haas of the Iranian Institute and School for Asiatic studies in New York since 1943, says (in his book *Iran,* N.Y., 1946, p. 17), of the Parthian empire (248 B.C. to 222 A.D.) that "The court and the upper classes were deeply imbued with Greek culture, and the fact that the inscriptions on the Parthian coins" (even in N.W. India) "are Greek[22] is in itself sufficient proof of the Greek influences", and we may add: even in "Edessa of the Parthians".[23]

Kallin-mel-nintu (கல்லின் மேல் நின்று) meaning from the top of the stone, in Malayalam.

[21] We recall that in about 500 A.D. the author of the *Passio* mentioned the definite place-name Eliophorum, though not Calamina. See notes 2 and 19.

After 394 A.D. a lady pilgrim Etheria or Egeria from Spain, St. Isidore's land (636), visited the large and handsome church of new design, and the martyrdom of St. Thomas at Edessa and read there portions of the (Greek) *Acts* of the saint. Did Etheria hear the name Calamina while there, and take it to Spain? "Large colonies of Eastern Christians existed in Gaul (North of Spain) from the early ages down to the times of Gregory of Tours" in France, d. 593-4. See Madlycott's *Thomas,* 1905, pp. 108, 247. Did the name Calamina reach Gaul, Tours, Vienna, Lyons, etc., in France through those colonists?

[22] Coins of Gudaphara and other Indo-Parthian kings also have legends in Kharoshi script, derived from Aramaic Syriac. An Aramaic inscription in Aramaic script was discovered in Taxila, the capital of Parthian India. Another was discovered at Laghman once the westernmost limit of India.

[23] Dr. F. C. Burkitt, of Cambridge, says in his article St. Thomas, in *Ency. Brit.,* 1946, and in a previous edition, that the tradition (recorded by

III. Calamina Misplaced

Without knowing that Calamina was in the 7th century (or earlier, or later ?) definitely specified by St. Isidore (or a pseudo-Isidore ?) as a town situated in *Parthian* India, several disinterested authors like W. R. Philips (1903), and others with vested interests, or a strong belief, like some South Indian authors whose tradition has located the St. Thomas tomb in Mylapore, whither they and their ancestors since some past unascertained period (before or after 1293) have been going on pilgrimage (like the Christians and Muslims of 1293 A.D. mentioned by Marco Polo in his Book III, ch. 18), have attempted to identify Calamina, or to establish that it is Mylapore itself, or one of the two Mounts near it, or some other locality or region (Coromandel) related to Mylapore.

The list below presents only a few specimens of the ingenious identifications and interpretations of Calamina.

1. Calamina is the ancient city of Mylapore submerged in the sea ; so the name has not survived. This implies that when Calamina was about to be engulfed the bones of St. Thomas were rescued and deposited in the brick-and-granite-slab tomb opened by the Portuguese in 1523.[24] That hypothetical removal must be

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Origen in 228-31 A.D., and in the *Clementine Recognitions* of about 250) about St. Thomas' preaching in Parthia arose because Edessa was in ancient times called "Edessa of the Parthians". Why, N.W. India too was India 'of the Parthians.' Mylapore was not Parthian. In the above article Dr. Burkitt refers to an article of mine on St. Thomas in South India (1927).

[24] In 1522 the Portuguese opened another St. Thomas tomb in Mylapore, and strangely enough, took out his entire "white" skeleton, which is now preserved in Goa. Col. Yule says: "The Portuguese ignored the ancient translation of the Saint's remains to Edessa, and in 1522, under the Viceroyalty of Duarte Menezes, a commission was sent to Mailapur, or San Thome as they called it, to search for the body. The narrative states circumstantially that the Apostle's bones were found, besides those of the King" (viz. the Chola King) "whom he had converted etc. The supposed relics were transferred to Goa, where they are still preserved in the Church of St. Thomas in that city. The question appears to have become" (by 1903 A.D.) "a party one among Romanists in India, in connection with other differences, and I see that the authorities now ruling the Catholics at Madras are strong in disparagement of the special sanctity of the localities, and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Mailapur".—*Vide Marco Polo,* Vol. II, 1903, Bk. 3, p. 358. St. Thomas' skeleton was "white", while the converted Chola King's was "black". Had black people black bones in the first century, and white people white bones ? Do bones remain entire and undecayed underground for about 1500 years (from 68 or 72 A.D. to 1522)?

F. A. D'Cruz, a Catholic of Mylapore says: "Catholics who venerate supposed to have been effected before 232-3 A.D. in which year, or shortly after it, the bones were conveyed to Edessa.

Camoens' *Lusiads,* 1572, says:

> "Here rose the potent city, Meliapor
> Naméd, in olden times rich, vast, and grand:
>
> * * * *
>
> In those past ages stood she far from shore,
> When to declare glad tidings over the land,
> Thomé came preaching, after he had trod
> A thousand regions taught to know his God."
>
> —(Burton's translation, canto X, 109).

Ptolemy (ca. 140) mentions Maliarpha (= Mylapore) and not Kalamine. So Mylapore was in existence in 140 A.D.

"'St. Thomas in the Sea" near Mylapore is an expression used by Johannes de Hese in his *Itinerary* first printed in 1499, and by an anonymous writer, probably a Flemish traveller, who visited Cochin in 1502, and Quilon in 1503, but did not go to Mylapore. But Barbosa, their contemporary, did not know of St. Thomas as *in* the sea[25] near Mylapore. The anonymous writer adds that "for a fortnight about the time of his festival" (in July)" the sea may be passed on foot" by those who visit his tomb. This "sea" was probably the very broad but shallow lake-like portion of the mouth of the Adyar Rivar, between the Little Mount and the Sea, and only about a furlong south of the tomb. That portion is practically a gulf of the sea, and visitors from the south could probably wade across it in the rainless festival month of July. But the tomb was not, and is not, on one of the small islands in that Adyar gulf (as St. Thomas' bones had been on the Island of Chios west of Asia

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the tomb are not compelled to believe in its genuineness; and they know well that it is a question of evidence and that they may be mistaken as to the fact. They regard it, in any case, in the light of a memorial, whereby the saint is remembered and honoured. If miracles are said to have occurred in connection with the reputed tomb or relics, Catholics understand again that here also it is a question of evidence, and that, if genuine, they are the result of faith excited by the memorial of the saint, whose intercession had been implored by clients for Divine interposition on their behalf". See his *St. Thomas, the Apostle in India,* 2nd ed. 1929, pp. 112-113.

[25] The Malabar Catholic Syriac *Office* of St. Thomas, alleged but not proved, to be of the 1st-2nd cent. says: "Holy Apostle Thomas, who established your burial place *on* the sea-shore, pray to the most high Lord," ...... "And Thomas was pierced with a lance in the country of India *near* the sea-shore", i.e. on one of the two inland Mounts to the S.W. of San Thome, which is "on the sea-shore".

Minor, in ca. 1144 A.D.); and it was *never* in any sea, unless we accept as true the story that the first tomb was in submerged Mylapore. See III, supra.

Calamina is mentioned by the author of the Italian work *Nuovo Viaggio* (pub. 1762 A.D.) as a city existing in Portuguese times (i.e. after 1498) and not as one engulfed by the sea after St. Thomas' burial there. The author says: "There was at other times a town called Calamina (which has been destroyed in the war between the French and the Portuguese), in which the Christians of the Malabar coast say that St. Thomas was martyred by the infidels. This town was built on the ruins of another called Betuma (see note 4) that is to say, the town of St. Thomas". No such Calamina is known. The author probably assumed that San Thome or some place near it was Calamina, e.g. Chinnamalai where Malabar says St. Thomas was killed by an "*Emprān*" Brahmin. The "Song of 1601" says so; but its existence prior to 1892 has not been proved yet. See No 11 *infra* for Galmona.

2. *Carmana,* modern Karmān in the east of Persia, was in 1903 held to be Calamina by W. R. Philipps (in the *Indian Antiquary*) "from a geographical, an ethnical, and indeed as it seems to me, from every point of view". But he was then ignorant of St. Isidore's having located it in *Parthian India* some 1300 years before.

3. *Calama* on the seaboard of Gedrosia (= Baluchistan) is Calamina, said Gutschmid. (But Sandaruk where St. Thomas landed before coming to the mouth of the Indus, may be located in Baluchistan as probably identical with the ancient Alexandria (*Alek-sander-uk*) in that province).

4. Kalah-elmina (= in Syriac the port of "Kalah of Isho-Yahb, 650-60, A.D., in the vicinity of India") is Calamina, "a fictitious name", said Dr. Medlycott in 1905 in his *India and Thomas,* and asked (on p. 98), "What place is there in India, other than

Let us note that from 1293 to the 16th-17th century Mylapore and Malabar said that a Govi's arrow, and *not* a Brahmin priest's 'lance' caused the Apostle's death accidentally. But by a complete *volte face* they now say that an Emprān Brahmin killed him deliberately!!

According to the *Office* St. Thomas' tomb was *on* the seashore, and not *in* the sea, or on an island. While on the island of Chios (since about 1144) it could be said to be *in* the sea. While in "Ortona a Mare" (= Ortona on the sea) in Italy's eastern littoral (ever since Friday, 6th September 1258) St. Thomas has been "on the sea" and he is *on* the Adriatic sea there even today.

Mylapore which has ever set forth a claim to it ?" But which year is there before 1293 A.D. in which *even* Mylapore is *definitely* recorded as having set forth a claim to the tomb ? What about Calamina definitely located in *Parthian* India, which fact Dr. Medlycot did not know, or refute. It must be noted too that he located Kalah far far away as "Qalah of the Malay Peninsula, somewhat to the north of Penang". See his *Thomas in India,* 1905, p. 159.

5. *Cholamandalam* is Calamina, said Yule and Burnell in their *Hobson-Jobson.* Coromandel, a small village on the coast north of Madras, from which, supposedly, the Coromandel coast took its name, is Calamina, said Dr. Macleane in his *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency.* But Coromandel is from Cholamandal(-am), which means the Chola King's region (= Ptolemy's *Sora, ca.* 140), and occurs as Koromandel in the ancient Pali book *Milindapanha* (= King Menander's questions), of early first century.[26] See *Cam. Hist. of India,* Vol. I, 1922, p. 212. Besides, the real name of the above village is Karumaṇal (= black sand), கருமணல்[27]

6. *Calamina,* a (hypothetical) ancient town at the foot of St. Thomas Mount is Calamina of the Roman Breviary, Martyrology, etc., said Rev. James Doyle in *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. 8, p. 382. St. Thomas, he says, was martyred there, but buried in Mylapore (5 miles N.E. of that Mount).

7. Kurumandala (= the realm of the ancient Kurus, cousins of the Pandavas of the Puranas) is Calamina, acc. to Tod.

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[26] *Milinda-panha,* 359, has the following: 'As a shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high sees, and go to Vanga or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or Further India, or any other place where ships do congregate".

[27] This Karumanal (= Black Sand) is by some regarded as the Black Island on which Abbot Zadoi's "monastery of St. Thomas (in India)" was situated, in ca. 390. But that island was south of Baith Katraye, the country of the Katars, the Arabian region on the west coast of the Persian gulf, facing the islands of Bahrain. An island south of Katar, still retaining the old name, marked in maps, cannot be on the Madras coast. See Dr. A. Mingana's *Early Spread of Christianity in India,* 1926, pp. 18-21. We may note also that "India" above need not necessarily be our India. For in that century, in 345 A.D., the author of the Latin work *Itinerarium Alexandri* said that "India is a vast country, a continuation (eastwards) of Egypt and Ethiopia". In about 360 Rufinus the Latin historian designated south Arabia as "Citerior India adherent to Ethiopia". See this *Journal* for Aug. 1947, and Aug. 1948 for pseudo-Indias west of real India. Also April, 1950.

8.. *Calur-mina,* supposed by Fr. A. Kircher, S.J. (1667 A.D.) to mean " on the stone ", acc. to the *wrong* form and sense personally mentioned to him about 1664 by Fr. Peter Paul Godinho of Cochin, then in Rome, is Calamina. *Kallin-mēl,* or Kallin-mēlē (கல்லின்மேல்,கல்லின்மேலே) must be the correct form. Baldaeus too has given that Tamil word for 'on the stone' as the original of Calamina. See his *Description* in Ch. XX of Churchill's *Voyages,* Vol. III, 575 ; also *Hough's Christianity in India,* I, 39, Note 3, and my article in *Indian Antiquary,* 1924, pp. 93-7. The stone here is the miraculous stone slab cross with Pahlavi inscription dug up by the Portuguese in 1547 from St. Thomas Mount, and soon supposed to have been set up by St. Thomas, and to have been embraced by him while dying. But that stone slab is not of the first century.

9. *Callalmelnina* (= "*ex rupe, ex saxe*", from the rock) became Calamina, said Fra. Paulinus a S. Bartholomew in his *India Orientalis Christiana,* Rome 1794. The real word for *ex rupe* is Kallinmelninṭ̤u (கல்லின்மேல் நின்று). In the same book he had said that *Malanina* (= " *ex monte* ", from the mountain) became Calamina. See *ibid* pp. 134-5. The real word is malaiyilninṭ̤u(மலையில் நின்று). The Friar has also thrown out this challenge : " And let those who deny the derivation of Calamina from this Indian word, show us in India, Persia or Syria the town of Calamina ".

Fra. Paulinus could with more show of reason suggest that Calamina is a form derived from Greek *Kalamos,* or Latin *Calamus* meaning reed, which he could identify with the Coromandel reed cholam (சோளம், found in *Cholamandalam*=the reed-realm). It is *Sorghum vulgare* of the botanists. There are indeed the Greek derivatives Kalaminos, *Kalamine,* and Kalaminon in the three genders. In Latin we have *Calamina* as in " Calaminae insulae ", floating islands in Lydia mentioned by Pliny. Or, he could, pedantically, derive Calamina from the Sanskrit word *kālamīnam* (காலமீனம்) for a field of *kalamā,* a species of rice plant, and assume that such rice was plentiful in Mylapore in the first century.

10. *Kalā mīn* (= the fish called Ktlā or *Kalavā* (கலா,கலவா) sold at Mylapore in the first century or later gave rise to the name Kalamina. Fine speculation! One author has suggested Kalā-mīn-ūr (கலாமீனூர்), the kala-fish-village as the original of Calamina.

11. *Galmona* (= Galma-ona = a rocky hillock, in Syriac) became Calamina said Fr. Stephen in 1906, and in 1916 Fr. Bernard

the reputed Church historian of Malabar repeated it in his *History* of the St. Thomas Christians, in Malayalam. But no Syriac document of considerable antiquity appears to have employed that name for Mylapore, or the Little mount.[28]

Besides it implies that St. Thomas was buried on the Little Mount, which is against the best approved version of the Malabar tradition found in the Malayalam "Song of 1601 A.D." by one Thomas (a Rampān ?) of Travancore, 48th in descent from the Rampān (= monk) Thomas II, a direct Travancore disciple of St. Thomas, who (the disciple) is alleged to have finished in 72 A.D. a (Tamil) "*Charitam*" (= History) of St. Thomas. Thomas' Song of 1601 is alleged by the bard himself to be a summary of that *Charitam.* But neither the *Song* nor the *Charitam* has yet been proved to be genuine or authentic, although an Italian translation of the Song[29] was published in Rome in 1938.

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[28] In 1652 Patriarch Ahattalla wrote from the east coast of India a Syriac letter to the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, which said: "Those (= the Portuguese) whose custom it is to perturb the upright" (= orthodox ?) "have detained me in custody in Calamina". Assemani (*Bibl. Ori.* III, pars. 2, p. 461) says the letter was written from Mylapore. .... "It could be that there was a place near Mylapore called *Calamina,* or Mylapore itself was known by that name. It could also be that this was only the view of Ahattalla or of those from whom he accepted it", adds Fr. Dr. Placid, C.D., in his *St. Thomas in South India,* Trichinopoly, 1940, p. 14.

Did Ahattalla give the name in Syriac exactly as Calamina? The Syriac form found in the MS. of 874 A.D. is Kalimaiya or Kalimiya (with ya) as in this article; and that of Bar-Hebraeus is Kalamina in the Latin and English translations. Calamina was St. Isidore's Latin form; and Kalaminē the Greek form. Na and ya in Syriac are almost alike in old MSS. Hence Kalamina could be wrongly read and copied as Kalamiya. Fr. Thomas Arayathināl, M.O.L., of Travancore, says "8th and 9th century MSS. are written in Estrangela characters. In that script medial ya and na are similar. The only difference is that na's head tops a little higher. .... Na medial is often mistaken for ya, and *vice-versa*". — (His letter dated 19th Aug. 1950). Sir John de Maundeville (1322-56) seems to be the only European who departs from the Latin and Greek forms and uses Calamye (the Syriac form with ya found in the MS. of 874, which could preferably be read as Kalimaina or Kalimina with *na*).

Did Ahattalla write Galmona (= Little Mount) in his Syriac letter, which Assemani read as Galamona, Calamina?

[29] Fr. Heras, S.J., Bombay, unsuspectingly accepted the "Song of 1601" as genuine and authentic (in his *The two Apostles of India,* Trichinopoly, 1944, p. 42), except for "later legends, which evidently were not in the original" (written in the 1st cent. by Thomas Rampan II, a disciple of St. Thomas), one of these legends being the reference "to the king Chola Perumal of the Tamilnadu; it is a repetition of the story of Gondophares of *The Acts of Judas Thomas*", which story like other European historians,

IV. Parthian-Indian Calamina

Isidore and the early Greek documents cited in § II *supra* cannot be regarded as having conspired to locate St. Thomas' tomb in a part of Parthia (Persia), in which he preached, and thereby nullify Indian, Persian, Syrian, and other documents which in those days *presumably* asserted that St. Thomas was killed and buried in South India, or in Mylapore. No such documents of the first 12 centuries, i.e. prior to Bar — Hebraeus' *explicit* mention of Calamina (between 1246 and '86), and Marco Polo's *probable* reference to Mylapore (in 1293) have yet come to light.

Those that have actually been discovered do not explicitly, or probably, refer to Mylapore, or South India, or Coromandel, or Chola, or Galmona. The earliest of such documents prior to Isidore and the Greek records, viz. (a) the Syriac *Acts* (200-220), (b) Origen's tradition (228-31 A.D.), and later on, the *Clementine Recognitions* (ca. 250) assign respectively (a) India of the Kings Gundaphar and Mazdai, (b) Parthia, and (c) Parthia to St. Thomas' labours and martyrdom. And we know that in the days of St. Thomas and the Parthian Indian King Gudaphara (= Gondophares in Greek) the Panjab and neighbouring parts of N.W. India were under Parthian rule. So there is no contradiction between the documents mentioned.

Fr. H. Heras, of Bombay, therefore, assures us that " An apparent contradiction in the early writers who speak about the mission of the Apostle St. Thomas is the greatest proof of the historicity of the mission of St. Thomas in India ". *Vide* his *Two Appostles of India,* 1944, p. 1. But relying upon the *unproved* Malayalam "*Song of* 1601 " he brings St. Thomas out of Parthian India of the N. W. " in a cart or chariot " (as the *Acts* says), and describes him, *conjecturally,* as " following on the wake of his great protectors the Parthians " (of N.W. India); " and since the latter proceeded

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he regards as authentic. Fr. Heras speaks of " the late Mylapore tradition ", as later legend interpolated. Probably he means the tradition found recorded *after* the Portuguese had discovered in 1522 and 1523 *two* St. Thomas tombs and *two* sets of St. Thomas' bones (one preserved in Goa, and the other in Mylapore Cathedral — as against the third "*entire*" skull and other bones preserved then and even today in Ortona), and in 1547 the miraculous cross of St. Thomas.

Dr. J. N. Farquhar, who had from me the MS. of my English translation of the Song of 1601, relied upon the *Song* in his *The Apostle Thomas in South India,* Manchester, 1927, though he does not mention the *Song* or quote from it. I had informed him that it was a document of unproved genuineness and authenticity.

first very likely to Muthra,......and then to Malwa and Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar), and finally to Konkan, Thomas followed them".... Thence he came by ship to Malabar via Socotra, says Fr. Heras.—*Op. cit.* p. 39. He, however, makes no mention at all of St. Isidore's statement of about 630 A.D. to the effect that the Apostle was buried in the town Calamina of India in the easternmost part of Parthia. Dr. Farquhar too (1927) is silent about St. Isidore's Calamina in *Parthian* India and the Apostle's burial there. (*De Ortu* in which Calamina occurs is a genuine work of St. Isidore of Seville, acc. to Steidle, O.S.B., *Patrologia,* Triburgii, 1937. But *Ency. Brit.,* 1946, says it is "of doubtful authenticity." See note 8.)

V. Calaminas a Galore

Since the earliest know St. Thomas documents of the period from the *Acts* of 200-220 A.D. to Eusebius (325) say, diversely as it were, that the Apostle preached and died and was buried in "India" or in "Parthia", those who believe that he lies buried in Mylapore identify Calamina with that locality or some place near it, while those (like W. R. Philips (1903), Fr. Dahlmann (1912), and others) who think that he was buried in Parthia, identify Calamina with some locality in Parthia (Persia), assuming that no part of India—(not even Parthian N.W. India)—could have a Calamina. Those who stand by Mylapore (not found mentioned as his burial place, before the 13th cent.) assume that no other part of India could have a Calamina.

If Isidore's statement that Calamina was an Indian town in the easternmost part of Parthia which had in it not only the Indus but also the Jhelum, 100 miles east of it, is ignored or rejected, and only place-names resembling Calamina are sought, the following are a few of such names :—

1. Quelimane in Central E. Africa, 17°·42 S.
2. Quilimane in E. Africa, 17°·30 S.
3. Kolomna in Moscow, Russia.
4. Calaminae floating Islands in Lydia, mentioned by Pliny.
5. Qālūmīnā Fort in Aleppo, in which Patriarch Macarius' son, an Archdeacon, was imprisoned when he was going from Roumania (or Rome ?) to Russia.
6. Carmania in E. Persia.
7. Kholwan, modern Sulimanthiah in Persia, where during the great persecution of 448 A.D. many Christians were put to death.
8. Calamen, a river off the Persian coast of Makran, mentioned by Captain Wilford.

9. Calaminam (= place of the foreign ruler, or of the black ruler, acc. to Rev. J. W. Jarre, Catholic Chaplain at Maymyo in Burma, 1926), where, in Burma, there was a king in olden times (before the coming of the Portuguese), at whose court a certain John, a disciple of Thomas Modeliar, preached the Gospel and was murdered in consequence. In 1521-23 Mylapore told the Portuguese that the king converted by St. Thomas at Mylapore, and buried near St. Thomas' tomb there was called Thomas Modeliar or Thane Mudaliar (perhaps Sanskrit Sthāni, Tamil Tāni, தானி = holder of a title. His name too was perhaps Thomas).

10. Calamina is found mentioned in a Latin (?) document quoted by the Bollandists, thus; "In East India (the feast) of Blessed Clara, a Dominican Virgin, daughter of the King of Calamina, who by her eminent virtues prepared for herself the way to Heaven." Again, "In the parts of India, St. Clara is held in such veneration that, among sixty kingdoms, there are found in one kingdom CCC (= 300) monasteries of the Sisters of the Order of Preachers which are called by the name of St. Clara." — *Acta Sanetorum,* July 3. See *JPASB, XIX* (1923), pp. 141-3. Where in East India, *i.e.* our India, or the Indian Archipelago, or Ceylon was this Calamina ?

This king of Calamina in East India, mentioned by Seraphin Razzius the Dominican of unknown date may perhaps be the Christian king ruling in 1248 in "India where St. Thomas had preached", and in a kingdom surrounded by those of Saracen kings, mentioned in Prince Sempad's (the High Constable of Armenia's) letter of 1248 from Samarkand to the king of Cyprus. He must have been in N.W. India, and the Calamina was probably the same as St. Isidore's (*ca.* 630). St. Dominic was born in 1170. The Dominican Nun Clara, therefore, was of a period later than 1170.

Her father in Calamina (of Parthian N.W. India) could not have been of the dynasty of the "King of Columbo, (Quilon) a Christian", mentioned, and marked with a flag containing a *columba* (= dove) and a cross, in the Catalan map of 1375 A.D., as King Stephen of the same map, as he was in the south of India, with his capital perhaps at Butifilis (Mutfili of Marco Polo, Mutappalle in Telingana).

In 1237, i.e., 11 years before the Armenian High Constable's (General's) mention of the Christian king of N.W. India, Brother Philip, prior of the Dominicans in Palestine, spoke of Nestorianism as predominent in "India the Kingdom of Prester

John ", and in the most distant states of the East. Was he the king of "Calamina in East India", and father of St. Clara referred to by Razzius (some time after 1170)? In that medieval period, however, there were several *pseudo*-Indias, and rumours about Prester Johns in Armenia, Georgia, Ethiopia, and India (and perhaps elsewhere too).

11. Karamana, a Brahmin village in Trivandrum, Travancore, South India.

12. Kalah, Kalaw, Calais, etc. resembling the first half of Cala-mina. See § VI *infra*. Mina in Arabic means a port, or rocky place; port in Syriac; race or family in Hebrew. Mena Bazaar in N. India is a bazaar for women. Kaleh in Turkish (and Syriac ?) means a fortress. Kala in Persian means a castle. Col. Yule says in *Marco Polo,* Vol. I, 1903 (p. 42 of text, note 2) that " the Eastern (word) *Kala*' (is) applied in Khorasan 'to everything — town, village, or private residence — surrounded by a wall of earth'."

* * *

VI. Kalah, India's End, 650 A.D.

Isho-Yahb III, the Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, a younger contemporary of Isidore of Spain (d. 636) specifies the limits of India as follows in a Syriac letter of his written between 650 and 660 to Mar Simeon, Metropolitan of Riwardashir, the metropolis of the province of Fars in S.W. Persia, and situated N.W. of modern Bushire on the river Tāb. Iso-Yahb was a contemporary of Harsha (d. ca. 646), and of Hiuen Tsang who left India in 643.

"As far as your district is concerned, from the time you showed recalcitrance against ecclesiastical canons, the episcopal succession has been interrupted in India (*hendia*) and this country has since sat in darkness, far from and the light of the divine teaching by means of rightful bishops: not only India that extends from the borders of (*Pares*) the Persian Empire,[30] to the country which is called Kalah, which is a distance of one thousand and two hundred parasangs, but even your own Pares" (= Fars, and not Persia as a whole).

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[30] Rev. Fr. Thomas Arayathināl, M.O.L., of Travancore, translates the sentence thus: "And then in your region, from the time you usurped a revolt (that is) against the ecclesiastical canons, priestly (or episcopal: *kahna*) succession was cut off from the peoples of *Hendia,* and it remained in darkness for want of the light of divine teaching (that should be) through the true bishops; not only *Hendia,* (which is) from the edges of the borders of the kingdom of *Pārēs* (*malkūth Pārēs*), (and) as far as that place which is called *Kallah,* the country extending to one thousand and two hundred parasangs, but also this very *Pārēs* of yours". (This Pārēs is Fars, and not the whole of Persia).

Which India did the Patriarch mean, and which is his Kalah? And did he mean the eastern or western border of Sassanian (222-642) Persia of his days, or of more ancient Parthia? The length of "India"—("1200" parasangs = 3900 miles)—must be taken as a rough estimate of the distance covered by coasting vessels along the sea and up some rivers, and probably also distances travelled across land areas. Besides the roughness of the estimate there was on the Patriarch's part a natural temptation to exaggerate, in order to magnify the extent of the evil consequences of his subordinate Metropolitan's recalcitrance. And 1200 may well be a wrong reading of the Syriac letters for a smaller number.[31]

The Patriarch says further that "All these" (calamities, viz. break of episcopal succession, sitting in darkness, etc. *supra*) "have happened to the Christians in Pares (= Fars) and in the whole southern part of the world (*be kolli taimnaye de alma*)." By the whole southern part of the world he could not mean the southern parts from Spain to South China, or from South Africa to Malaya. Probably he meant the parts from Arabia to Peninsular India, or to Malaya, excluding the parts of India proper then under the new Metropolitan of India, who was not recalcitrant like the

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He adds also that in West Syriac the name is Kālah, *h* being mute in either case. *Pārēs* in Syriac denotes either Fars or the whole of Persia. Hendia is applied to the river Indus, or to India; Hendo too has the same double connotation. In a Mosul edition Kallah appears as Kelah, the change of *a* to *e* being probably due to Arabic influence in Mosul.

He points out also that though Dr. Mingana overlooked it there is the word for edges in the sentence thus:

Hendia demin *spārai* tehūmē de malkūth Pārēs = India that is from the *edges* of the borders of the kingdom of Persia. (*Spāra* = edge; *sparai* = edges). Edges of the borders means the extreme limits. Assemani understood them as the shores, i.e. the western sea shores of Persia, and Medlycott too calculated the distance of 1200 parasangs from Ormuz eastwards to Malaya, via the Indus estuary, and Cape Comorin, and not from the eastern borders.

Smith's Syriac Dictionary says that one parasang is 3 miles, one hour's walk, sometimes 3 or 4 miles according to the nature of the ground one may walk in one hour.

[31] For 1200 parasangs the *printed* editions of the Syriac letter have *ālēp* u *mātēn* parsehin = *thousand* and *two-hundred* parasangs. But as Fr. Thomas says: "The same number could be expressed in different ways, and could be read differently if written in letters", and not in words as above. And we do not know whether the Patriarch or his amanuensis wrote (in 650-60 A.D.) a smaller number, and that in Syriac *letters*.

Metropolitan of Fars. But we do not know the extent of the Indian regions under the former, and where his seat was. Neither is it known whether Fars's revolt was due to the appointment of the new Metropolitan, or whether the latter was stationed in India to try and get India already in revolt, back to the obedience of the Patriarch of Seleucia.

The Patriarch wrote also five letters to the bishops, the monks, and the Christians of Baith Katraye (= Katar on the east coast of Arabia), "ordering them to reject the bishops uncanonically ordained", i.e. those who will be ordained thereafter and sent to them by the disobedient, schismatic, Metropolitan Simeon, and "to appeal ultimately in all questions affecting episcopal ordinations to the Patriarchal see", i.e. to him, Isho-Yahb. The letters were intended "For the quelling of the schism that has sprung up among the East Syrian bishops of Baith Katraye, India, and Fars," says Dr. A. Mingana in his *Early Spread of Christianity in India,* 1926, p. 33. The above five letters to Katar (which had bishops even from at least 225 A.D.) indicate that it was then under the Metropolitan of Fars, who had the right to ordain bishops for it.[32]

In one of the five letters he warns Katar "in time, in order to avert from you the disease of lack of faith, which through the bad cause of a little while ago, affected the peoples who live beyond you" i.e. "the *far off* peoples on the *other side* of you" (as he specifies them in his previous sentence). These remote people already infected (with schism from Fars) on the other side of Katar cannot be the people of Oman (= Mazon in Persian) next below Katar, and included by the early canonists in the district of Katar as Dr. Mingana[33] says (on p. 23 of *op. cit.*)

They may be the Christians of India proper — (in the Indus region, or elsewhere in real India) — or the Ethiopians anciently called Indians (e.g. by Aphrahat, the Syrian, A.D. 275-345). For,

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[32] In 325 "John of Pares" (= Fars, and not the whole of Persia, as Dr. Mingana says) "and Great India" attended the Council of Nicea. His great India was probably at least a portion of the Fars Metropolitan Simon's "India extending as far as Kalah". The annalists Amr and Mari mention Fars Metropolitans down to the 12th century. In the time of Patriarch George (661-80), our Isho Yahb's successor, Fars ruled over all Katar. See Mingana *op. cit.*, p. 61, last para. Assemani interpreted Katar first as Socotra, and then corrected it as Bactria. See his *Bibl. Or.* III, pp. 133 and 362.

[33] Dr. Mingana, however, thinks that the far off peoples are those of Oman, and that "the bad cause of a little while ago" is "the Arab invasion and the defection of many Christians of that country to the Islamic cause". (*Op. cit.*, p. 34).

(1) in 420 there was a bishopric at Ardashir Pharihd in Baluchistan, a part of India; and (2) in about 500 there was in 'Sandarûk' (in Baluchistan, as I think) "the see of St. Thomas and the catholic faith", as the Latin *Passio* (ca. 500) says; and (3) in about 525 Cosmas found or knew about multitudes of Christians (a) in "Male" (= *Malai*-nāḍu = Arabic Mala-bār), (b) in Kalliana (Kalyan in Bombay) with a Persian Bishop, probably sent from Seleucia by a predecessor of our Isho-Yahb III, (c) in the island of Socotra (with clergy ordained and sent from Persia, probably by the Patriarch of Seleucia [34] to minister to the *Greek* — speaking Christians of the island), (d) among the Bactrians, (e) the Huns (the White Huns under Cosmas' contemporary "Gollas"=Mihira-*gula* of N.W. India), (f) the Persians (probably in India, N.W.), and (g) "the rest of the Indians" (other than those in Male, Kalliana, and the White Hun empire already mentioned).

The Ethiopians (pseudo-Indians) were Christians from at least the 4th century (of Bishop Frumentius of Ethiopia *cum* Arabia). And Cosmas (ca. 525) found multitudes of Christians there "in Ethiopia, and in Axum" (its capital), "and in all the country round about" (in N.E. Africa opposite Arabia), "among the Happy Arabians" (of Arabia Felix), "who are now-a-days called Homeritae, and all though Arabia" (including Katar which Isho-Yahb III, 125 years later, warned betimes against the schism engineered by Simeon Metropolitan of Fars).

So we may assume that there were Christians in Ethiopia and "all though Arabia" (including Katar), and also in Baluchistan and other parts of N.W. India in Mar Simeon's days (650 A.D.) as in the days of Cosmas' travels (525 A.D.). And since the coastal strip between Mar Simeon's Fars and the Indus was contiguous to Fars, we may assume that that littoral region and also India on either side of the Indus were under Simeon and his predecessors as Metropolitans of the Persian coast and N.W. India. At least Katar and other southern bishoprics of Arabia too were probably left to the Fars Metropolitan's charge by the Patriarch, who had, as we may suppose, directly under him at least Socotra, Kalyan, Malabar and Ceylon (where Cosmos mentions Persian Christian colonists with "a Presbyter appointed from Persia", presumably by the Patriarch of Seleucia, up the Tigris.

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[34] Marco Polo, 1293, says of Socotra Christians, that "Their Archbishop" (styled Bishop in the next sentence) "has nothing to do with the Pope of Rome, but is subject to the great Archbishop who lives at Baudas" (= Baghdad, a later seat of the Patriarch of Seleucia). "He rules over the Bishop of that Island, and over many other Bishops in those regions of the world, just as our Pope does in these" regions of the west. See *M. Polo*, Vol. II, London, 1903, pp. 407 and 409. Was the seat of the Metropolitan of India in Socotra? "In the list of the Metropolitan sees of the Nestorian Church we find one called *Kctrabah*, which is supposed to stand for Socotra", as Yule says in p. 409 of *op. cit.*

Dr. Mingana says (in his *Early spread......in India*, 1926, p. 35) that the "Metropolitans of Riwardashir (in Fars)-----had under their jurisdiction the bishoprics of North-West India and Baith Katraye" (= Katar in Arabia, opposite Fars), and that the claim of the bishops of Fars who, "Down to the time of this Timothy" (I., Patriarch, 779-823 A.D.) used to say (from which date?), "we have been evangelised by the Apostle Thomas, and we have no share with the see of Mari,"[35] *i.e.,* Seleucia, "would thus contain the earliest reference to the Christians of Fars[36] and North-West India, calling themselves *Christians of St. Thomas*".

On page 64 of *op. cit.* Dr. Mingana says: ----"the Christians of North-West India were in very early times" (from about 410 A.D., the days of the first Archbishop of Fars, 399-410, or 415-20 ?) "under the jurisdiction of the Persian Metropolitans of Fars. This last Nestorian see is indeed very ancient.-----Soon, however, the Christians of India proper increased in number to such an extent that a special Metropolitan see with some six to twelve suffragan bishops" (presumably those of the sees in Peninsular India and Ceylon and Malaya, outside the North Indian jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Fars) "had to be created for them. This was done ......by the Patriarch Isho-Yahb II. (A.D. 628-643);.....in rank the Metropolitan of India took precedence of that of China, and the Metropolitan of China of that of Samarkand". (We may suppose that the territories under the Metropolitans of India and China met at Kalah in Malaya, or Kalaw in E. Burma).

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[35] Quoted from Barhebraeus, *Chron. Ecel.,* III, 169-171.

[36] In the Syriac work *Acta Maris* of ca. 520 A.D. we find that Mari (a pupil of Addai, i.e. Thaddeus sent to Edessa by St. Thomas after the death of Jesus Christ), after having preached in the country of the Huzites (= Khuzistan, N. of the Persian Gulf) "went down" (in the first century) "to the southern countries until the odour of Thomas, the Apostle, was wafted to him; and there also he brought a great number of people to the Lord, and detained in those countries a disciple named job, to minister to them". The odour of Thomas, probably the news of his martyrdom in India and of his preaching in Fars, was wafted to Mari probably from Fars, and not from remote N.W. India which in St. Isidore's days (ca. 630) had his burial place Calamina, long before Mylapore was mentioned in 1293 as having a saint's tomb asserted by Muslims to be a Muslim avarian's, and to be St. Thomas's by Christians.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

It was only some 20 years after the appointment of the first Metropolitan of India in about 635 (between 628-643) by Isho-Yahb II, that his successor Isho Yahb III (650-660) wrote to the Fars Metropolitan chastising him for his schismatic propaganda in Fars and Katar (and in Ethiopia ?), and also in the eastern bishoprics under him in "India" from Fars to the enigmatic Kalah, while the newly appointed Metropolitan of "India" outside the Fars Metropolitans "India" had been loyal and obedient to the Patriarch-Catholicoi of Seleucia from Isho-Yahb II. Was it because some parts of India originally under Fars (since say about 410 A.D.) had been usurped and put under the new Metropolitan of India (with his seat in Kalyan, Malabar, or Ceylon, or ?) that the Fars Metropolitan grew 'recalcitrant' ? (as Isho-Yahb's letter says).

We see, therefore, that since about 635 A.D. our India was, ecclesiastically, in two parts — one under the Metropolitan of India, and the other under the Metropolitan of Fars. This is defined in the letter of Isho-Yahb III as "India that extends from the edges of the borders of the Persian Empire[37] to the country[38] which is called Kalah, which is a distance of 1200 parasangs". And since N.W. India was, as Dr. Mingana told us already (see above) under Fars, this India ending with Kalah must have included that part of upper India, and some regions contiguous to it on the east.

We know too that according to the Latin work *Itinerarium Alexandri* (345 A.D.) "India", i.e. pseudo-Indias *plus* India proper, was a vast country, "a continuation of Egypt and Ethiopia", which latter itself, and Arabia were lands of pseudo-Indians. See this *Journal* for August 1948, pp. 201-207 and August 1947, pp. 175-187. Besides, Abdias the Syrian, who lived in the days of our Isho-Yahb III (650-60), another Syrian, says (in about 600 A.D.) that historiographers mention *Three Indias,* viz. (1) the India that lies towards Ethiopia, i.e., South Arabia, (2) the India that lies towards the Medes, i.e., the rest of Arabia and Mesopotamia-Assyria, and (3) our real India. See this *Journal* for August 1947, p. 177.

We may, therefore, interpret Isho-Yahb's India as extending *eastwards* from Fars along the coastal region of Persia and Baluchistan, and the lower Indus region.

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[37] Assemani translates the original Syriac as "*a maritimis regni Persarum usque ad Colon*",

i.e. "from the shores of the kingdom of Persia even unto Colon" (Quilon, wrongly). Mingana has borders, and not shores.

[38] Syriac and Arabic writers used the terms country, island, and city indiscriminately.

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But since that strip of land is not "3900 miles" in length, we have to go further eastwards across upper India to the mouth of the Ganges, and even beyond to Burma, and search for Kalahs there, leaving[39] Malaya with its "Kalāh-bar" or "Kalah" mentioned by the Arab merchant Sulaiman in A.D. 851, and Ceylon with its Galle (resembling Kalah to some extent, on the S. W. Coast) to the Metropolitan of India (since ca. 635), the Fars Metropolitan's rival in (lower) India.

A

In Burma we have Kalaw west of, and near, the Shan Hills. This Kalaw (about 97 degrees E.L.) is nearly 50 degrees east of the western border of Persia, or 50 × 69 (=3450) miles away in the eastern part of India proper of those days.[40] There is not much difference between 3900 (rough and exaggerated estimate) and 3450 miles.

B

If we stop short near the Ganges we find Sarāi-Kālā[41] State in Bihar, and about 100 miles west of Calcutta. It is marked as a "proto-neolithic site" in Plate I (Map of India) at the end of *Archaeology in India,* Delhi, 1950. But it is distant (87 *minus* 47 =) 40 degrees only from the western border of Persia.

C

Proceeding no further than North Panjab we find there in Taxila and neighbourhood, (1) *Kala*-wan, an ancient site, (2) Serai *Kala,* a Railway Station (also called *Kala*-ka-Serai), (3) Man*kyāla* with ancient Buddhist monuments, south of Taxila, (4) *Kala*-bagh with a bridge, 100 miles S. W. of Taxila Railway Station, and (5) *Mian-Kala.* The coasting distance from Fars to the mouth of the Indus, and thence up that rives to Taxila is about 1400 *plus* 700 (= 2100) miles only.

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[39] It is impossible to define the limits of the parts of India proper respectively under the Metropolitan of India and the Metropolitan of Fars since ca. 635 A.D.

[40] See Calaminam in Burma in the list of Calaminas in article *supra.* When did Christianity first reach Burma? Rev. John Stuart speaks of "Nestorian Missionaries, who, as Cosmas in his *Christian Topography* tells us, had penetrated to Burmah and Siam even before the sixth century A.D.", i.e. one or two centuries before Isho-Yahb's mention of Kalah. See Stewarts *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise,* C.L.S., Madras, 1928, p. 306.

[41] Persian *sara* means mansion. There is caravan-serai in English, from Persian *Karwan-sarai.*

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Again in N. W. Afghanistan there is *Kala* Nao, N. E. of Herat and Safed Koh; as well as *Kala-t-i-Ghilzai,* N. E. of Kandahar. Are these to be ignored? Probably we may rule out *Kalat* State in Baluchistan.

VII. Kalas in Pseudo-Indias

Now let us assume that the newly appointed Metropolitan of India (ca. 635) was given jurisdiction over all India except the upper and lower Indus regions of the St. Thomas Christians of the Parthian, Kushan, and White Hun periods (5 centuries since St. Thomas' martyrdom), leaving these two regions and Baluchistan in N. W. India to the more ancient Metropolitan of Fars. Then "India" under him may be taken as extending *westwards,* for 3900 miles or so, from the conventional eastern "borders of Persia", i.e., from the upper and lower Indus regions; and we are to look for Kalas in the Pseudo-Indias of the west, viz., in Ethiopia, and "the first and second Indias" of Abdias (ca. 600) referred to *supra,* i.e. Arabia and the regions to the north and northeast of it (excluding of course Mesopotamia and Babylonia held by the Patriarch of Seleucia himself).

The following Kalas are found in the Pseudo-Indian and some other regions:—

1. *Calah,* the ancient town in Assyria. Its present site is Nimrud, near Mosul. It was the second capital of Assyria, after Ashur and before Nineveh or Khorasabad.

2. *Calaei* islands. *The Periplus of the E. S.* says in § 34: "Sailing along the coast, which tends northward toward the entrance of the Persian Sea, there are many islands known as the Calaei,......extending along the shore". These are the Daimaniyat Islands N. W. of Muscat. But the distance from the upper Indus to these islands is not even one-fourth of "1200 parasangs" (3900 miles).

3. *Coloe.* The *Periplus of the E. S.* says in § 4: "Adulis, a fair-sized village, from which there is a three days' journey to Coloe, and inland town and the first market for ivory. From that place to the city of the people called Auxumites there is a five days' journey more."

"The ruins of Coloe were found by Bent at Kohaito. It is a large flat plateau many miles in extent, high above the surrounding country (7000 feet) and thus cool and comfortable. It seems to have been the main settlement, and Adulis the trading-post..... There is a fine dam......of large cut stones without mortar...... There are numerous ruins of stone temples and dwellings; the architecture resembling that at Adulis, apparently Ptolemaic Greek. The town covered many acres....The name Coloe, Glaser notes, ...is the same as the Arabic Kala'a (which appears in the Adulis inscription of King Aizanas)......" or El Abraha, king of Abyssinia about 330 A.D., for a copy of which we are indebted to the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indikopleustes".... (Schoff's *notes* on Coloe).

4. *Galla* Country in North East Africa, in the Horn of Africa, 5 degrees N. L. and 40 degrees E. L.

5. *Kala-hari,* desert in the interior of South Africa.

6. *Quiloa* in Zanzibar, E. Africa.

7. Kalol, Bombay, 23°·15 N., 72°·33 E.

8. *Kalan*-jar in the kingdom of the Chandel kings of Bundelkhand, which locality was attacked and taken by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1023 A.D.

9. Hassan *Kalā* with its hot spring, in Armenia. See Yules's *M. Polo,* I (1903), Bk. I, Ch. 3, p. 47.

10. Narin *Kaleh,* to the west of which are the ruins of the famous Caucasian Wall that runs from the Castle of Derbend along the ridges of the Caucasus, wrongly called in the East *Sadd-i-Iskandar,* the Rampart of Alexander (the Great). Alex. Dumas, novelist, has described the ruins. See Yule, *op. cit.,* I, 4, p. 53.

11. *Kalā'* Atishparastān, near Sava in Persia, about 130 miles south of the Caspian Sea. *Vide Marco Polo,* Vol. I, Bk. I, Ch. 13. The name means the *Castle* of Fire-worshippers.

12. Pamir *Kalan* = the Great Pamir, one of the several Pamir Steppes.—(*Marco Polo,* Vol. I, 1903, p. 176 of text.)

13. Qal'ah Asgher, with sulphurous hot springs curing itch, on the Urzū-Bāft section of the east Persian road, shortest and direct, from Ormuz to Kerman. See Yule's *M. Polo,* II (1903), p. 122, and map *op.* p. 114.

14. Kala' Safed = White Castle, fortress in Shūlistān province east of the Persian Gulf's northern half. See *ibid.,* p. 85, and map *op.,* p. 1.

15. Sin *Kalān* = Canton in China, so called by Ibn. Batuta, 14th cent.

16. *Kala,* i.e. Kila'-i-Gabr = Gueber-*Castle* is a name applied commonly to ruins in Persia. See *Marco Polo,* I, 1903, p. 82. Gueber, or Guebre is a Zoroastrian, a fire-worshipper. See 11 above. Guebre is akin to Arabic Kafir=infidel, non-Muslim. Kafir became kāyyar in old Malayalam (= infidels), and kāppiri (English Caffre, Kaffir), in modern Malayalam, with the sense of a native African. To Muslims all other religionists are Kafirs.

Of these 16, Coloe in Ethiopia may be Isho-Yahb's Kalah. The Fars Metropolitan's suffragan bishops would thus be located in sees scattered from the north of Indusian India downwards, and in the coastal strip from Baluchistan[42] to Fars, and also beyond that in Arabia and Ethiopia — all these three being pseudo-Indias in Isho-Yahb's and Abdias' days (7th century), and the Indus being the conventional old eastern boundary of Persia (Parthia as St. Isidore says, 630 A.D.).

Kalaw in *Burma,* Kalawan or one of the other Kalas in the *Upper Indus* region, Qala in Malaya, and Coloe in *Ethiopia* being, as shown above, Isho-Yahb's Kalah very possibly, it seems difficult to choose one of them *decidedly.*

VIII. Previous Identifications

J. S. Assemani, Col. Yule and others who, since 1728 A.D., tried to identify Kalah of Isho-Yahb III (650-60 A.D.), or of the Arab travellers of the 8th-9th century, did not know or failed to take into consideration, the fact that since about 635 A.D. there has been a separate Metropolitan of India (as Dr. Mingana says in his *Early Spread. . . . . in India,* 1926, p. 64). They did not also think of *Peseudo*-Indias.

The following places have been suggested by them, and that in India proper alone.

1. Qala'-h is described by one Arab Traveller as "the focus of the trade in aloeswood, in camphor, in sandal-wood, in ivory,

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[42] Sandaruk where acc. to the Syriac Acts (200-220 A.D.) St. Thomas landed before reaching India of Gundaphar (= Gondophares) was probably Alek-*sandaruk* (= Alexandria) in Baluchistan, founded by Alexander the Great on his return from India, along the Baluchistan coast. In 420 A.D. there was a bishopric at Ardashir Pharihd in Baluchistan, and in ca. 500 the author of the Latin *Passio Thomae* says "there is there still the see of St. Thomas and the catholic faith". George Philip's *New Scripture Atlas,* S.P.C.K., London, Map 10, of Greek, Seleucid, and Ptolemaic Empires, has this Alexandria marked on the sea coast about 125 miles west of the widest mouth of the Indus, and the same distance from the famous Pattala of the ancients, an Indus river port.

in the lead which is called Kala-i", and by another, Ibn Mehalhal (941 A.D.), as "the first Indian city, and the last for those sailing thence" (to China), "a great city with high walls and many gardens and water courses"...... (and having) "in the vicinity ......mines of lead called *qala'-i,* which is found in no other part of the world but at *Qala'-h*". In 1845 Reinaud identified this with "the present Qualah of the Malay Peninsula, placed somewhat to the north of Penang" (as Dr. Medlycott says in his *India and Thomas,* 1905, p. 159), or with Coromandel.

In 1886 Yule (in *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Quilon) identified Isho-Yahb's Kalah with "the port of the Malay regions....., probably", i.e., with the above Qalah of the Arabs.

This Malayan Qalah would be the easternmost part of the India under Fars if the region of India under the contemporary Metropolitan of India did not include it. But we do not know which parts of our India proper (including Burma with its *Kalaw,* and the countries south of it as far as the tip of Malay with its *Qualah*) were under Fars, and which under the new Metropolitan. Did the Partiarch Iso-Yahb II (628-643) deprive the Metropolitan of Fars of the whole of India proper as a punishment for some fault of his ?

2. Point de *Galle* in Ceylon was suggested by Reinaud in 1848 as representing *Qala'h* of the Arab travellers.

3. J. S. Assemani in 1728 read the Syriac name Kalah in Isho-Yahb's letter (650-60 A.D.) as "Colon, Khalam (*lege*)." Gildemeister, in 1838, pointed out that it should not be read as *Colon* (Quilon in Travancore).

4. Gidemeister, 1838, *supra,* explained it as meaning *Chola* or *Coromandel.*

5. Gabriel Ferrand identified the Arab Sulaiman's Kalah or Kalahbar (A.D. 851) with the port of *Kra* or *Karh,* on the west coast of the isthmus of that name.

6. Dr. Mingana (*Early Spread ...... in India,* 1926, p. 33) says: "I believe with Reinaud that the *Kalah* has a connection with Ceylon; indeed the whole of the southeast (sic?) coast of Ceylon was formally (sic) known as Galla." (Formally should be read as formerly).

7. "Cordier is sure that it is to be identified with the modern Malacca or Singapore", "and very possibly identical with Kadah (Quedah)". Mingana does not accept this. *Ibid.,* p. 33.

British Relations with Nagpur

(1798 — 1803)

BY

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Shortly after his arrival at Fort William in May, 1798, Lord Wellesley appointed H. T. Colebrooke Resident at the Court of Nagpur on July 23, 1798.[1] It was not however till March of the following year that Colebrooke actually took up his residence at Nagpur. It appears that Raja Raghuji Bhonsle had requested the despatch of a British mission, and that his object had been to discuss with the British authorities the question of his becoming 'a party in the alliance against Tipoo.'[2] This was an object in which Governor-General Lord Wellesley was very much interested. The anti-British feelings of Tipu and his reported collusion with the French power had made the reduction of Mysore the first objective of the Governor-General's policy. The Governor-General expected the co-operation of the Nizam and the Peshwa in the accomplishment of this objective, for Article XIII of the Triple Alliance of 1790[3] contained the following provision: "If, after the conclusion of peace with Tipoo, he should molest or attack either of the contracting parties, the others shall join to punish him; the mode and conditions of effecting which shall be hereafter settled by the three contracting powers." When the willingness of Raghuji Bhonsle to participate in the defensive arrangements against Tipu was known, Colebrooke assured him that the Governor-General already 'considered him as a party to the existing defensive alliance with the Peshwa, in which he as a Maratha State was included.'[4] The Triple Alliance might therefore be expanded so as to include Raghuji Bhonsle. Sridhar Pundit, minister of Raghuji Bhonsle, did not welcome the idea of a quadruple alliance, but proposed instead the formation of an alliance between Raghuji Bhonsle and the British Government.

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[1] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 5, Letter No. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 16.
[3] Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds*, Vol. III, No. 12.
[4] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 5, Letter No. 16.

Meanwhile hostilities had broken out between the British Government and Tipu Sultan, and Lord Wellesley was disappointed in his expectation of assistance from the Peshwa in accordance with the tripartite treaty of 1790. The failure of the British Government to obtain assistance from the Peshwa was primarily due to the influence which Daulat Rao Sindhia had acquired over the Poona Government. It was known that Nana Fadnavis was in favour of fulfilling the conditions of the alliance, but the 'overbearing influence'[5] of Sindhia stood in the way. Peshwa Baji Rao indulged in duplicity. Grant Duff says that he secretly formed a scheme, in concert with Sindhia, to attack the Nizam and finally to fight the British Government in support of Tipu Sultan. Baji Rao and Sindhia expected to secure the co-operation of Raghuji Bhonsle in this scheme. The hostile designs of Sindhia against the Nizam were, however, discovered, and the Governor-General directed Colebrooke in a letter dated April 25, 1799, to urge upon Raghuji Bhonsle the urgent necessity of concluding 'a treaty of defensive alliance between the company, the Nizam, and the Rajah of Berar' whose object would be 'to counteract the hostile projects of Daulat Rao Sindhia.[6] The proposed treaty was to include an article enabling the Peshwa to accede to the alliance within a period of one month from the date of his being invited to do so by the British Government. This proposal was presented by Colebrooke to Raghuji Bhonsle, who expressed his willingness to accede 'without reservation'[7] to the proposal of a defensive alliance and offered to take an immediate part in the offensive operations against Tipu, but raised the question of his share in the spoil of victory. Colebrooke attempted to make it clear that the proposed alliance was to be purely defensive, and that no offensive operations were contemplated.

The above negotiations took place in the later part of April, and early in May the war against Tipu was brought to a successful conclusion. There remained no necessity, therefore, of negotiating the terms of Bhonsle's participation in the common defence against Tipu. The attention of the British Government was from now on focussed on the designs of Sindhia. The protection of the territories of the Nizam against any possible attack from Sindhia became the vital concern of the British Government and in the later part of May Colebrooke raised to the Raja the question of the defence of the Nizam's territories against the aggression of Sindhia, which the British Government apprehended. The Raja was unwilling to attach much importance to the suspected designs of Sindhia, and pointed out that Sindhia was too much 'employed by his domestic contests'[8] to be able to carry out any hostile designs against the Nizam. The question of the attitude of the Peshwa was also raised in this connection, and the Raja suggested that it would be better to invite the accession of the Peshwa to the proposed alliance and make it a quadruple combination. In case the Peshwa rejected the offer, a treaty of triple alliance might subsequently be concluded. As the negotiations with the Peshwa would require some time and as the British Resident represented the danger from Sindhia as immediate, the Raja agreed to place his troops in such a position near the Nizam's frontier as to be able to afford the Nizam speedy assistance in case of attack. Moreover, the Raja offered to send a letter to Daulat Rao Sindhia warning him that if he invaded the Nizam's dominions, the whole force of Nagpur would be employed to resist him. Colebrooke declined this latter offer, as the British Government did not consider it desirable to let Sindhia know, even by way of warning, that an alliance was being sought to be formed against him. As to the question of inviting the accession of the Peshwa to the proposed quadruple alliance, the British Government had obtained secret information to the effect that the Peshwa had already ranged himself on Sindhias side, and it was, therefore, useless to make overtures to him. But Colebrooke was instructed by the Governor-General not to disclose this knowledge of the 'Peshwa's treachery'[9] to the Raja, and as the Raja refused to conclude any alliance without previously inviting the Peshwa's participation, the negotiations came to a standstill.

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[5] Extract from Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Mahratta Empire, by the Governor-General, in *Wellesley's Despatches*, Vol. 3, p. xxviii.

[6] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 5, Letter No. 18.

[7] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 19.

In a letter dated April 16, 1800,[10] Col. Kirkpatrick, Secretary to the Government, instructed Colebrooke to reopen negotiations for an alliance with the Bhonsle Raja. The letter pointed out that so long circumstances had prevented Sindhia from carrying his designs into execution, but the death of Nana Fadnavis in March had removed 'one of the principal barriers' to the projects of Sindhia, and it was therefore all the more necessary to take precautionary measures against him. There were at least two causes of unfriendliness between the Raja of Berar and Sindhia: (1) the jealousy felt by Sindhia at the acquisitions made of late years by the Bhonsle Raja in the Malwa quarter, and (2) the favourable disposition manifested by the Bhonsle Raja towards the late Nana Fadnavis. It was therefore highly expedient that a defensive league should be entered into by the Company, by the Nizam and by the Court of Nagpur against Sindhia. The price which was to be demanded from the Raja of Berar for the proposed alliance was that the Raja should consent to a compromise of his claims on Hyderabad, and a permanent settlement of all boundary questions between him and the British Government. The Resident was further instructed to sound the disposition of the Court of Nagpur as to the establishment of a British subsidiary force in the Raja's dominions. It is to be remembered in this connection that negotiations were started by the British Government with the Governments at Poona and Hyderabad for the purpose of concluding treaties of subsidiary alliance. The attempt to bring the Court of Nagpur within the projected system was therefore only one aspect of the general policy of Lord Wellesley which aimed at binding all the "native" States of India with the tie of British protection.

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[8] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 20.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 33.

When Colebrooke opened to Raghuji Bhonsle the question of an alliance,[11] the Raja declared his willingness to join a defensive league against Sindhia, and enquired as to the progress of negotiations with the Peshwa. He expressed his interest in the welfare of the Peshwa, and appeared to think it advisable to await the result of the Peshwa's deliberations. Negotiations were therefore postponed. Meanwhile the Court of Poona had become, after the death of Nana Fadnavis, a scene of rivalry and intrigue. The Sindhia had won his way to supreme hold over the Peshwa, and this very development was considered[12] by Colebrooke to be a factor favourable to the success of British negotiations with Nagpur, because it would heighten the Raja's apprehension from the increased might of Sindhia. But things did not turn out according to Colebrooke's expectations. A *vakeel* named Murar Rao Daulat was sent by Sindhia to the Court of Nagpur, and Raghuji Bhonsle showed himself unwilling to conclude any engagement with the British till he had heard from the *vakeel*. The news of the despatch of Murar Rao Daulat considerably decreased the Raja's apprehensions from Sindhia. The Raja, while refusing to conclude any treaty till the *vakeel* had arrived and communicated Sindhia's message to the Raja, assured Colebrooke that he would be informed of everything that might pass between Sindhia's agent and the Raja. Colebrooke, therefore, did not despair of the success of his negotiations. The situation was thus summed up by him in his letter[13] of August 7, 1800, addressed to the Governor-General: "Upon the whole it is evident that the Raja is pleased with the mission of a *vakeel* by Sindhia, and that he wishes to delay the adjustment of the articles of alliance until he had heard what the *vakeel* is instructed to propose to him. I do not, however, think he entertains sanguine hopes of accommodating his differences with Sindhia, or any inclination to recede from the projected alliance with the Company and the Nizam...."

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[11] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 35.
[12] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 36.

Later on Colebrooke received information that Peshwa Baji Rao had sent despatches to the Bhonsle Raja requesting him to concur in measures taken for his relief.[14] This was interpreted by Colebrooke as an encouragement to the Bhonsle Raja to participate in the proposed league against Sindhia, from whose domination the Peshwa was to be given relief. In response to an urgent call from the Peshwa, the Raja decided to despatch two of his ministers — Sridhar Pundit and Kishen Rao — to the Poona Court.[15] These ministers assured Colebrooke that it was not the intention of the Nagpur Court to indulge in 'wilful procrastination'[16] and that they were confident of the ultimate adherence of the Poona Government to the proposed alliance. Colebrooke tried to press upon the Raja's attention the uselessness of further negotiations with the Peshwa as the latter had already refused to accede to the terms proposed to him, and suggested that the two ministers deputed to meet the Peshwa should not leave for Poona. Shortly after this Colebrooke announced to the Court the news of the conclusion of the treaty of alliance between the British and the Nizam, and discussed with the Raja the implications of some of the clauses of the treaty. The Raja then in a flush of enthusiasm appealed to Colebrooke to become 'the channel of cementing a close alliance between the Company and the Marhattas'[17] and declared his willingness to act as a mediator between the Company on the one hand and the Peshwa and Sindhia on the other. He considered the alliance between the Company and the Nizam to be offensive as well as defensive, and expressed suspicion about the Nizam's motives. This necessitated elaborate argument on Colebrooke's part to prove the purely defensive character of the treaty. It became, however, clear that the Raja would not consent to enter any league whose nucleus was the British alliance with Hyderabad. His offer of interposition with the Peshwa and Sindhia was equally unacceptable to the British, both because there was no doubt among the British as to the enmity of Sindhia and because the Raja of Berar was not considered influential and important enough for the task proposed. Colebrooke wrote thus of the Raja's attitude : "He is blinded by the prospect of exaltation as the mediator of a treaty of alliance between the Peshwa and the Company.... During the last week the consultations of the Court....exhibit incoherence, which shows the Rajah of Berar to be confused and unable to resolve on the part he should take in regard to the alliance offered to him.[18].

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[13] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 39.
[14] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 41.
[15] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 44.
[16] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 47.
[17] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 50.

Colebrooke later on received information that the Raja had been invited by the Peshwa to meet him and Sindhia on the bank of the Godavari. Believing that the differences between the Raja on the one hand and the Peshwa and Sindhia on the other were too great to be adjusted, Colebrooke veered round to the view that it might be good to encourage the Raja in his design of interposition, failure in which would impel the Raja to join the British alliance. The Raja assured the Resident of his desire for peace, and even promised to employ his forces against the Peshwa should the latter turn out to be an aggressor. But he would not conclude a written engagement; he expected the British to rely on his word. This appeared to the Resident to be a sign of inconsistency. While the Raja was unwilling to break off negotiations, he eluded giving any positive answer. As the Resident wrote : "....his deliberations, so far as I obtain any information of them, have hitherto indicated irresoluteness on every point except that of procrastination...."[19] Under these circumstances Colebrooke suggested his recall and the abolition of the Residency of Nagpur. To quote his own words again : "The Rajah of Berar derives from the presence of a British Resident at his Court the benefits of an actual alliance with the British Government without making any return for those benefits, and without being bound by any engagements to the Company. The withdrawing of the Residency would deprive him of those advantages. It would diminish the efficacy of the menace which his ministers are instructed to hold out to the Court of Poona, and it must consequently accelerate those events which may compel him to take refuge in an alliance with the Company." [20] Accordingly the Nagpur Residency was withdrawn. The Governor-General warmly appreciated the services of Colebrooke. The letter from the Secretary to the Government to Resident Colebrooke, dated April 15, 1801, which communicated the order of recall, stated: "Your mission has already produced as much benefit to the interest of the Company as could reasonably be expected by your longer continuance. It has revived and improved the political relations between the British Government and the State of Berar, and has laid the foundation of a closer alliance, if circumstances should hereafter render such a connection desirable." [21] Colebrooke left Nagpur in the later part of May, 1801.

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[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 53.

It was not till the beginning of 1803 that the Governor-General entertained the idea of deputing another Resident to the Court of Nagpur. In his letter [22] to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, dated February 3, 1803, he proposed the despatch to Nagpur of Mr. Webbe, who had till then been Resident in Mysore. The reason for the decision to send a Resident to Nagpur is given in the same letter as follows: " ......it is expedient that we should possess the means of obtaining timely knowledge of that chieftain's (i.e., Raghuji Bhonsle's) views in the present crisis. It is my duty to avail myself of the favourable opportunity which the actual state of the affairs of the Mahratta empire may be expected to afford for the accomplishment of the important object of comprehending the Rajah of Berar in the system of defensive alliance lately concluded with the Peshwa. These objects cannot be effectually secured, otherwise than by the presence of an able and active resident on the part of the British Government at the court of Nagpore."

The situation had greatly changed since the middle of 1801. The treaty of Bassein had been concluded on December 31, 1802, and the policy of the Governor-General was henceforth directed towards preventing the formation of any confederacy among the remaining Maratha powers with the object of obstructing the execution of that treaty. Sindhia's hostility to the British was well known. As Grant Duff says, Sindhia, supported by Raghuji Bhonsle, had exerted his utmost influence to obstruct the conclusion of any arrangement between the Peshwa and the British Government. The Peshwa also was not happy over the treaty of Bassein. He sent deputies to Sindhia and the Bhonsle Raja, nominally to explain the nature of the alliance but really, as Grant Duff says, to encourage the two Maratha chieftains to unite for the purpose of opposing the treaty. The treaty of Bassein had not pleased Raghuji Bhonsle. Lord Wellesley wrote thus in his letter[23] to the Secret Committee of Directors, dated April 19, 1803: "The intelligence which I have received from the Court of the Rajah of Berar, indicates that chieftain's dissatisfaction at the conclusion of defensive arrangements between the British Government and his Highness the Peishwa." Lord Wellesley, however, expected that the 'systematic caution of his character' would prevent him from taking active steps to obstruct the operation of the treaty and might even impel him to enter the British protective system for the sake of security.

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[20] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 54.

[21] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 57.

[22] *Wellesley's Despatches*, Vol. 3, Letter No. 11.

On May 13, 1803, Lord Wellesley addressed a letter[24] to Raja Raghuji Bhonsle, in which he explained the nature of the treaty of Bassein, and assured him that the restoration of the Peshwa's rightful authority by the force of British arms did not involve any encroachment on the legitimate rights of the several Maratha chieftains. He even requested the Raja to consider entering into an alliance with the British. "If a just regard to the real interest and prosperity of your Government should dispose you to conclude defensive engagements with the Honourable Company similar to those which have been contracted by His Highness the Peshwa, I shall be ready to enter into a negotiation with you for that purpose. The ties of friendship, however, will not be relaxed by any declaration of your disposition to remain unconnected with the powers now allied by the treaties of Hyderabad and Bassein......" The Governor-General, however, warned the Raja that any combination of his powers with that of any other State, directed to the subversion of the arrangement concluded with the Peshwa, would soon be followed by corresponding measures of security on the part of the British Government. The Raja was informed that Mr. Webbe would soon be leaving for the Nagpur Court. In his reply[25] to the Governor-General, dated May 15, 1803, the Raja said: "The relations of sincere friendship, harmony and concord, have, during a long period of time subsisted between the two States, so firmly as to have admitted of no difference of interests between them, nor will any separation of them occur." The Raja welcomed the idea of a Resident being sent to his Court.

The state of affairs was, however, rapidly moving towards a rupture. On May 22, the Governor-General wrote to the Raja that he had obtained information of the latter's marching with his army towards the Nizam's frontier, and exhorted the Raja to 'return peaceably into your territories'.[26] Ultimately the Raja marched forward to meet Sindhia who had encamped at Burhanpur, and the final phase of negotiations was conducted jointly with the two Maratha chieftains by Col. Collins. Into these negotiations we need not enter here. They related primarily to the question of the withdrawal of the Maratha armies, and General Wellesley was given authority to decide at what point Col. Collins should be asked to stop further negotiations.[27] Col. Collins withdrew from the Maratha camp on August 3, and this, says Grant Duff, was considered a declaration of war. The Governor-General-in-Council reviewed the final phase of the negotiations in a letter,[28] to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated September 25, 1803. The history of these negotiations was characterised as a 'long and uniform course of systematic evasion and faithless policy' on the part of the Maratha chieftains. While the British authority had been guided by 'justice, moderation and forbearance', the conduct of those chieftains had been actuated by a 'systematic design to employ the resources of their combined power and influence' for the subversion of the British alliance with the Peshwa.

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[23] *Ibid.*, Letter 20.

[24] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 28.

[25] *Ibid.*, Appendix M.

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[26] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 29.
[27] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 35.
[28] *Ibid.*, Letter No. 100.

Annals of Old Madras

Law Courts: 1678-1862

Notes of Cases (Contd.)

BY

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Even though the lilies of France were hauled down and the Union Jack hoisted at Fort St. George in 1749 still Fort St. George remained subordinate to Fort St. David till 5th April, 1752, when the Presidency at Fort St. George was re-established. The Directors wrote, "The lawyers all agree that the capture of Madras by the French put an end to the Mayor's Court. No attempt to be made to revive it till a New Charter has been obtained". (23rd August, 1751). The charter of 1726 was surrendered and a fresh one dated 8th January, 1753, issued by George II. The Charter was put into operation at Madras on 13th August, 1753. The Mayor's Court request the following Law Books to be sent:

Cay's Abridgment of Statutes.
Hawkin's Pleas of The Crown.
Barlow's Justice.
Blackerby's Justice and Office of the Clerk of the Peace.

When all these were received on 7th January, 1755 they ask for the following to be sent out:

Wood's Institutes.
Horseman's Conveyancing.
Wood's Conveyancing.
Jacob's Law Dictionary.
Molloy de Jure Maritimo.
Domai's Civil Law.
Wood's Civil Law.

Of these Jacob's Law Dictionary was received in 1760 along with Burn's Justice.

In the Mayor's Court papers of 1753 is a horse-dealing case. The seller demands specific performance of the contract. The buyer claimed to have bought the horse under warranty of soundness. It appeared from the evidence that the horse in question was that ridden by George Pigot, then Member of Council of Fort St. David (later Governor of Fort St. George, 1755 to 1763 and 1775 to 1776), on an occasion celebrated by Orme, when in 1751 Pigot and Lord Clive saved themselves from a body of the enemy by the superior speed of their animals. The incident happened when Pigot was commissioned by Governor Saunders to take charge of a large Convoy of stores to Vriddachalam. Accompanied by Clive he repulsed a hostile poligar and accomplished his mission. On his return to Fort St. David he was surprised by the poligar. Most of the escorts were slain and he and Clive narrowly escaped with their lives. When the plaintiff recalled this incident as proof of the goodness of the horse, the defendant rejoined that that was before it "was sprained by Mr. Pigot in a fox-chase".

Ephraim Isaac, who seems to have been a paltry fellow, complained in 1754 that one of the Aldermen of the Mayor's Court had given dinners to two others in order to make them stick to him. When the President and Council desired his explanation of such a charge, he alleged no other justification than that the offending Alderman was more conversant with 'Hoyles' History of the Four Kings than with the Law Books sent out by the Honourable Company; and his temper is probably indicated by the fact that he declined to answer the President and Council as such but addressed his answer to 'Thomas Saunders and other His Majesty's Justices of the Peace'.

During the Seven Year's War (1756-1763) the French under Counte De Lally beseiged Madras on the 14th of December, 1758 and the seige lasted for 67 days. The assailants had to retire because their admiral could not keep the Sea against the English which left the way open for reinforcements. The Town Hall and adjacent buildings sustained serious damage. By his untiring skill and energy the Governor George Pigot withstood the seige. He was on his return to England in 1763 rewarded with an Irish peerage.

At a Quarter Sessions held on 15—1—1761 Tanapah is charged for stealing 100 gold pagodas belonging to Cornet De Larche dwelling in the Admiralty House on the 24th day of November, 1760. He is taken to the Choultry to be whipt in order that he may confess. He confessed. He is put on his trial. At the trial the Chairman tells him that he may choose for his tryal a Jury of 12 Englishmen or six Englishmen and six of his countrymen. He chooses to be tried by the latter. When the witnesses are examined questions are put to them regarding the confession.

Asked if the confession was voluntary, witness says "yes". Asked if the accused was in liquor, witness answers "I cannot say whether he was in liquor, or not. His eyes looked read". Asked if the prisoner looked as if much whipped when he confessed witness answered "I did not see his back". The confession was recorded before a Justice of the Peace.

The Jury bring in a verdict of "Guilty". The accused is sentenced to death.

Mr. John Colland summoned to serve on the Grand Jury not appearing in time, the Court fined him 5 Pagodas (7—7—1762). Moosaboy, a Moorman summoned to serve on the Petit Jury, objecting to serve and assigning no sufficient reason to induce the Court to set him aside is for his obstinate behaviour fined 5 Pags. (11—1—1763).

THURSDAY, 10TH JANUARY, 1765

Saverymoottoo of Cuddalore charged with stealing £ 62-8 shillings at Cuddalore in the dwelling house of the Rev. Mr. Cutteman of Cuddalore on 17—10—1764.

PLEA OF ACCUSED : GUILTY

Muttoo late of Cuddalore charged with stealing £ 62-12 sh. at Cuddalore the goods in the dwelling of Mr. Duncan Buchanan of Cuddalore on 8—11—1764.

PLEA OF ACCUSED : GUILTY

Mr. Robert Palk, Chairman of the Court of Commissioners of the Peace of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery addressed himself to the Prisoners at the Bar and acquaints them with the consequence of their pleading guilty and that as by the nature of the English Law no one is under a necessity of condemning himself they have it in their power still to deny the crime laid to their charge if they think they can clear themselves thereof but they persist in declaring themselves to be guilty.

The sentence of the Court in both the cases was Death.

At the first Sessions held on 13—1—1773 Richard Green was charged with feloniously breaking open one trunk with the Intention of stealing and carrying away from thence money or other Goods, the property of Patrick Kirwan, in the latter's Dwelling house.

He pleaded not guilty to the charge.

"After the evidence for the prosecution was over, he was put on his defence and read to the Court as follows:—

To stand here Gentlemen with my Honour and intergrity impeached and make no reply to so wantonly malicious and false a charge would be a tacit confession of guilt and my name might for ever be branded with Obloquy and loaded with the worst of Epithets. I should not Detain either you Gentlemen on the Bench or you Gentlemen of the Jury with many words had not the most industrious frauds and meanest Acts During a long Confinement been exercised to prejudice your minds against me in many places. I have already been condemned and many would now sacrifice me without even the shadow of a tryal. But happy in a British Constitution the meanest subject claims the Verdict, the innocent protection of his peers.

I will sollicit your patience whilst as an Introduction to this Tryal I recite an intercourse that passes betwixt this Patrick Kirwan and myself and in that I will declare the Cause of this trunk being Opened.

After frequent applications to the Town Major for a subsistence from the Company whilst I remained in this Country and as many refusals, I adopted a sentiment of solliciting Employ in the Service of the Rajah of Tanjore. After this adoption I nursed the Infancy of the Sentiment and by Great pains Endeavoured to rear it to Manhood. I had so far succeeded that this Patrick Kirwan thought my Departure certain and offered repeated sollicitations to be taken into my train — with the Little Eloquence he was Master of he painted his wretched situation here and added that his father's Death showed him the most Melancholy prospects at home. As often as he sollicited I as frequently told him how unfit he was for such service and as he had a letter of Recommendation to Sir Robert Fletcher's favours whilst his Behaviour should continue to deserve them I strongly urged a delivery of it and offered every assistance my poor pen would afford him. When I found fair persuasions were not compulsive, with a strong vein of satire I laughed at a dastardly spirit and Endeavoured by showing it was Men of Real Courage and true Merit that the King wanted in his Service to dissuade him from his attempts of going with me. For some time I was successful. On the Sunday before his trunk was opened I was with him at Mr. Robertsons Punch House where we met with Mr. Fennel and somehow or other the conversation turned on the Black Services. From what passed Kirwan Caught a few

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Words which made the prospect again appear Delightfull and he then fully bent his thoughts that if he could not go with, he would follow me. It was agreed that he should go with me and in order to have as little incumbrance with us as possible it was resolved to part with everything that was troublesome and which might retard our journey. I cleared my Chest of every little I had left, some very valuable papers and a few trifles. I put in a trunk belonging to this Patrick Kirwan some Manuscript Sermons I had Directed for a friend till he should hear further from me; the linnen I proposed taking was to be put into the trunk the Opening of which I am now prosecuted for, and Friday was the day for Departure. Something extremely material intervening it was thought advisable for me to take charge of the trunk and the little baggage we should carry. On the Thursday Evening walking towards my House I met with a man whom I had engaged as a Cooley. I went to the House and as it was agreed that this Trunk should carry the linnen for Kirwan and me, to avoid every suspicion of its being thought we were going, I ordered out of the House a Boy whom I then employed as a Cook and ordered the Cooley to open the trunk not to take anything Out, but to put my Own, Linnen in. The trunk was offered I confess, but after this recital I leave it to you Gentlemen to Judge whether with a felonious intent. That it was not opened with felonious intent is certain from Nothing being taken out or anything Missing. The mere breaking a lock is by no means felony and I am supported in this sentiment by the strongest authoritys of the law. By Lord Bacon, Lord Holt, Judge Tracy and every Branch of the British Legislature. Judge Tracy in the Conclusion of his Charge to the Jury who tryed the Man for shooting at Lord Onslaw Declared the mere shooting at him was not felony and not the point for them to try, but whether he did it with a Malicious intent and with a Design to kill. The legislature says in a late Act that the breaking a seal is not felony but the taking from the letter opened a bank Bill or Draught is. That there is no felony in the Counterfeiting a Handwriting unless it be to Draw Money from the Name forged or to rob the post of its duty and in an Instance in this Honourable Court a few Sessions back we have it on Record that the tearing of a Note was not felony as it was not torn with a felonious intent.

I will not Gentlemen take any more of your time by bringing Quotations, as your own Wisdom and Knowledge of the Law will furnish you with variety of facts now on Record. From what I have Declared I do not mean to say the breaking a lock is not an Evil and a Remedy is prescribed. Had he prosecuted me by an action for trespass no Doubt but the Virtue of a British Jury would have given damages adequate to the Injury. The present Information and Indictment is for feloniously breaking the lock open. To make a felony it should have been for breaking the lock of a trunk open and feloniously stealing therefrom but as Nothing was stole therefrom (there) was no felony and I rely upon the Candour and Justice of this Honourable Court for Acquittal.

The Petit Jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty and the accused was acquitted and discharged.

The Madras Case referred to and relied on by Richard Green in his Defence was that Case tried before The Quarter Sessions at Madras on April 22, 1772 when Daniel Shaw, Attorney, was indicted for taking, stealing and destroying a promissory note he had executed from the hands of Davaroy. He pleaded not guilty to the charge. The prosecution alleged that the accused had executed a promissory note in favour of Chengalroy, brother of Davaroy, for Pags 16-18 Fanams and promised to discharge the debt within three months. The accused failed to do so. Davaroy went and demanded payment. The accused asked him to come the next day. On that day he was told the Dubash should come. The Dubash did not turn up. Davaroy went home and called at the house of the accused on the following day. He found neither the accused nor the Dubash there. He learnt that the accused was at the Sea Gate of Fort St. George and went there and delivered the promissory note. The accused snatched the note and tore it and put it in his pocket. Davaroy was talking to Mr. Dark. The accused kicked him. Mr. Dark's servant advised Davaroy to go home and so he did. Put on his defence the prisoner stated that the demand at the Sea Gate was improper. Davaroy exposed the pronote in the presence of a number of people. Being inraged at his conduct, the prisoner asked for the promissory note. Davaroy gave it. The prisoner asked him to come to his house and said that he would pay the amount. He also instructed his Dubash accordingly. Instead of doing so Davaroy lodged this complaint. He added "As for any evil intentions in tearing the note I had not; neither did I intend to refuse payment of it but on the Contrary took the necessary steps to pay him; and my tearing the note was out of the effects of passion". He examined two witnesses in his defence. After the charge, the Jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty.' and the accused was discharged by proclamation.

St. John Browne, educated at Westminster School, and graduated from Cambridge, was, at the age of 26, appointed Chaplain by the Directors without reference to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London and arrived at Fort St. George in August 1775. Before he had been in the country six months, he was in serious trouble. One night he chased out one of his servants in order to punish him. The man trying to escape fell from a terrace 20 feet high. Browne made no attempt to discover if he were hurt but behaved with inhumanity. Next morning the man was discovered mortally hurt. The following day he died. Browne was brought to trial for murder. The Jury acquitted him on that indictment and brought in a verdict of homicide by misadventure. Browne desired to go home to sue out his pardon from the Court of Chancery. On January 24, 1776 he wrote to the Council asking for a passage home. This was granted together with £ 50 for his expenses. But Browne did not go home in one of the February ships as the Council intended. There is nothing in the records to show why. He applied to the Council in June 1776 for some subsistence allowance, was granted 100 Pags and was told not to expect more. After that his name is no more found in the annals of Madras.

The legal implications that arose over the arrest, confinement and death of Lord Pigot, appointed Governor of Madras a second time in 1775, are of some interest. He was arrested by order of his own Council on the 24th August of 1776 on the Island while on an evening drive as a result of the conspiracy entered into by them with the notorious Paul Benfield and the Nawab of Arcot because they disagreed with the views of Lord Pigot over the claims of the civil servants over the Carnatic debts and the forged bonds and the choice of the person to go to Tanjore for its restoration to the Old Rajah. The coup was deftly managed. Lord Pigot was removed a prisoner to St. Thomas Mount — "The cave of Despair". He was under no restraint except the prohibition from going to Madras. Pic-nic parties were organised, one to Covelong, another to Vandalur and a third to a cave at Pallavaram. The Council occasionally directed letters to him but he refused to have any communication with men whom he regarded as rebels. On the 23th August he applied to Commodore Sir Edward Hughes for the protection of the King's flag and sought a passage to England in one of the King's Ships. The application was not effectual. Lord Pigot sent in a petition to the Mayor's Court for a writ of Habeas Corpus but it was judged by a majority of the Court, on the strength of the advice of Le Maistre, a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta then at Madras, that they had not the power to grant such a writ. He afterwards commenced a suit in the Mayor's Court against Sir Robert Fletcher, Commander-in-chief, for damages and also against Col. James Stuart, Captain Arthur Lyfaght and Lieut.

Col. James Edington, whom he had reason to believe, were about to depart the jurisdiction of the Court. To these suits the defendants before mentioned demurred and appealed to Mr. Stratton and his associates, the party in power, who took upon themselves to act as a Court of Appeal. But they appear to have acknowledged themselves parties, as it was by their orders Lord Pigot was confined. The defendants thereupon declared their resolution of appealing to the King in Council by which means further proceedings in Mayor's Court came to be stayed. While the suits were so pending Lord Pigot died on the 11th of May 1777. Immediately on his death Mr. Monckton addressed a letter to Major Horne to demand the body. He also sent notice of Lord Pigot's death to Mr. Andrew Ram, the Coroner, requesting that he would take an inquest on the body of Lord Pigot. Of the gentlemen summoned the Coroner called the names of twelve and the Jury were sworn over the body of George Pigot, Baron Pigot of Pattishull in the Kingdom of Ireland then and there lying dead. Mr. Pasley and Mr. Anderson, surgeons, were called and sworn and questioned as to whether, from a further inspection of his Lordship's body and particularly from opening it, they can with greater certainty trace the cause of his Lordship's death. The doctors replied that a disease was the immediate cause of his Lordship's death and that in their opinion the cause of the disease of which his Lordship died cannot be discoveed by opening the body. The Jury considering that if the surgeons could not have any further knowledge of the cause of the disease of which his Lordship died by opening the body they, the jurors, could not; they therefore thought it unnecessary that body should be opened. The Coroner permitted the body to be buried the same day as desired by the family of the deceased. The Jury assembled the next day at the house of the Foreman Mr. George Smith. The day to day examination of the witnesses was concluded on the 26th. The Coroner delivered his charge on the 27th. After three adjournments on the 31st May, 2nd and 5th June, giving the Jury time to consider their verdict, they assembled on the 6th of June and came to the conclusion that Lord Pigot died in confinement. They assembled again on the 26th of June and considered the question whether the Confinement of Lord Pigot and the treatment he met during that confinement as it appeared on the evidence before the Jury were or were not the cause of his Lordship's death. They found that it was. On this the Coroner observed that the final verdict of the Jury might affect the principal persons named in the evidence and therefore suggested that, if the Jury thought fit, those persons may be summoned to appear before the Inquest, that the evidence taken before the Jury might be read over to them in the presence of the witnesses, so that they might have an opportunity to confront the evidence. The Jury were of the opinion that if the persons mentioned in the evidence were brought before the Inquest, they ought to be brought before them as prisoners which in the situation as it stood then could not be done without risking the peace of the Community and subjecting the enquiry to insuperable difficulties. The Jury also appreciated the fact that the Coroner could not compel obedience to his warrants under the then Government. The Coroner concurred with the opinion of the Jury. The Jury met again on the 30th and considered this question: What denomination in law does the death of Lord Pigot occasioned by his confinement and the circumstances of that confinement came under? On this question the Jury, moved more by remorse than by abstract justice found a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against those who formed the Opposition and were responsible for Pigot's Confinement. The Court of Directors took four months March to July — success was alternately for the partisans of either parties — to resolve to recall both Pigot and the members of the Opposition to facilitate a full enquiry into the matter. But before the question was decided the party principally interested was beyond the reach of either additional injury or tardy redress. Whitehill, who rushed to Madras from London via Cairo by the land route in 59 days, a record for many years unbroken, became the Governor on the 31st of August. He consulted Mr. Benjamin Sulivan "educated regularly as a barrister" and then at Madras en route to Calcutta. He was of the opinion that no criminal can be convicted upon the Coroner's Inquest. On the 24th of September the Coroner however delivered the verdict of the Jury with warrants for the apprehension of the members of the Opposition concerned. They were arrested the following evening and put in Sheriff's custody. They had thus some taste of the treatment they had meted out to Lord Pigot until they were released on bail fifteen days later by the Governor in Council in their capacity as the Court of Sessions who resolved on the 1st of October to apply for advice to the Supreme Court at Bengal and proceeded to record evidence. On the 26th of November the opinion of the Supreme Court at Calcutta consisting of Sir Elija Impey, Chambers, La Maistre and Hyde was read. They recorded the opinion that there was no legally appointed Coroner at Madras and consequently the proceedings were null and void and that, if there had been, the materials of the inquest were insufficient for indictment for either murder or manslaughter. The Court quashed the proceedings and the prisoners were set at liberty. The coup de etat came for much comment and noise in England. Adherents of both parties published pamphlets. Ultimately on April 16, 1779 on a motion of Admiral Pigot, brother of the late governor, the House of Commons carried without a division his resolution for an address to His Majesty praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to his Attorney-General to prosecute the five deposers of Lord Pigot—of whom Stratton, who was then a member of the House and present on the occasion, made a long vindication. Mr. Stratton and his friends were prosecuted. The trial came on before the Court of the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield presiding. The trial began on the 20th December at nine in the morning and lasted till seven the next morning when the Jury returned a verdict of Guilty. The five members were however sentenced to pay a fine of £ 1000 each — a rather tame ending of a sensational episode.

We shall now pause to take a survey of the working of the Mayor's Court for a quarter of a century. The number of Attorneys who practised in the Mayor's Court was restricted by license to be issued by the Court of Directors. Serving an articled clerkship of only three years, instead of five as in England, they did not learn much of the law. Nor did they know much of it at practice. These legal gentlemen had to be told by the Court of Directors : "Bills of complaint and answers are not to be prolific or libellous ; attorneys who draw improper bills etc. are to be made to amend them at their own cost ; special rejoinders to a general answer are not to be allowed according to the practice of English Courts of Equity" (Letter dated 24th January, 1753). But their fees were enormous ; if you ask a single question on any affair you pay down your gold mohur and if he writes a letter of only three lines twentyeight rupees ...... The fee for making a will is in proportion to its length from five gold mohurs upwards, and as to marriage articles, I imagine, they would half ruin a man and a process at law be the destruction of both parties. The Court carried on all kinds of business. It was at once a civil, criminal, military and prerogative Court. It proceeded with remarkable promptitude and despatch from the proving of a will to the trial of a murderer, from the settlement of a dispute regarding the sale of a slave girl to the punishment of a drunken trooper or an extortionate witch. (Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company by Carey, Vol. I, pp. 32 and 274). But it must be said to the credit of the Mayor's Court that it was well able to decide upon the causes before it because they were chiefly of a commercial nature. Though their report to the Court of Directors says that Justice was generally distributed with impartiality and good sense, it is very much to be doubted how far they were impartial having regard to their business connections and personal relations in a foreign settlement. Having no legal knowledge, they were helpless when points of the law arose and they had to seek advice on those from the Court of Directors. Here is an instance:—

The Directors in a letter to Lord Pigot, dated 13—3—1761 furnish Counsel's opinion regarding the following points propounded by the Mayor's Court:

(1) Whether the Mayor's Court has jurisdiction over causes arising beyond the limits of its jurisdiction ?

Opinion. The Court has jurisdiction where claim is made against a resident within its jurisdiction, no matter where the obligation was originally contracted.

(2) Whether the assignment to an European of a bond given by an Indian to an Indian will warrant a suit on that bond in the Mayor's Court ?

Opinion. Where such assignment is made bona fide to transfer the benefit of the debt, a suit will lie against an Indian provided he is constantly residing within the limits of its jurisdiction.

(3) Whether the Court can grant probates or administration in the cases where the deceased died out of the Jurisdiction ?

Opinion. The Court can grant probates etc., where there are assets within its jurisdiction.

(4) Whether an executor or administrator is liable for payments made by virtue of decrees on simple contract debts due by bond ?

Opinion. The effect of judgments and decrees founded upon simple contract debts is to advance those debts upto the highest rank, from which time an executor or administrator (unless a demand be made or notice given of judgments prior in time) may prefer such few judgments to debts in equal degree at his own discretion.

(5) Whether an executor is guilty of wasting assets by paying inferior debts before those of a superior nature ?

Opinion. This will depend on the extent the superior claims are prejudiced and the reasonableness of the executor's conduct.

(6) Whether the Mayor's Court can grant probate or administration to an Indian for an estate owned by an Indian ?

Opinion. The probate may be granted to enable him as executor to recover the assets under English Law.

(7) Whether the heirs of Indians can sue Europeans for simple contract debts without first obtaining probate from the Mayor's Court ?

Opinion. The probate must first be obtained.

(8) Whether the Mayor or Senior Alderman must be present to make a Court ?

Opinion. One of the two is essential for a quorum.

You had to put up with make-shift justice as you had put to up with make-shift defences and make-shift divinity. In those days men were too often engrossed in the day's business too anxious to make their fortunes and go home, too ill-prepared in their early education to develop high-brow tendencies. The merchant, the engineer, the contractor, the renter, the legal gentlemen, the agents of the native rajahs and nawabs—all shook the Pagoda tree which showered Pagodas on them so luxuriously as to earn for them the nickname Nabobs "flaunting their large fortunes in England to buy landed estates and rotten boroughs and to make themselves detestable to the gentry into whose ranks they tried to force their way (The I.C.S. by Sir Edward Blunt, p. 30).

Nallanna was detected selling grain at a price exceeding that authorized by the Grain Committee's Regulations. The Committee ordered a portion of his store to be seized and placed in the public Banksall for sale at the proper price. Nallanna refused the sale proceeds, filed a suit in the Mayor's Court against Atchiah, the Committee's Conicoply. To support the dignity of the Government and to protect their servants in the discharge of their duties under orders, Nallanna is ordered to appear before the Board. When questioned he admits having filed the suit in the Mayor's Court and that Mr. Ellis, his Attorney at-law, was perfectly well acquainted that the action was against a servant of the Company for his conduct whilst in the discharge of duty to his employers. It was therefore agreed that Nallanna do receive immediately seventy-five lashes in the most public manner for his audacity in so notoriously attempting to controvert Regulations established under the sanction of the Board. (P.C. Vol. CXXVII, 16—6—1782).

The Governor and Council did not forget Mr. Ellis for being so bold as to file the above suit because when two years later he appeared before them in January, 1784 at the Quater Sessions to defend Mr. C. B. Dent charged with receiving bribes in the course of the discharge of his duties as Justice of the Peace, he is asked by what authority he undertook to officiate in this court as an attorney. On his producing certificates the Court is satisfied and he is permitted to appear. Mr. Dent attends at the Bar and is charged with having received bribes in the course of his duties as Justice of the Peace — the exact words used in the charge being that by colour of the said office he unlawfully and unjustly did extort receive and take moneys from four persons under the said four charges. He pleads not guilty to the charges. A petty jury is empanelled. The evidence for the prosecution showed that Sancaraporam Soobaroyaloo, Dubash to Mr. Dent and that Vencataramnajuloo Naick, Mr. Dents' Canacapilly, entered on the 21st of October, 1781 into an agreement that they shall divide the profits that may arise in any business or employ through the means of the said Gentleman. In the course of their dealings with other people Subrayaloo represented to third parties that a certain sum had to be paid to settle their causes before Mr. Dent, Justice of the Peace. He took 300 Pags. from Ancha Pillah who had a cause pending before him and Rs. 250/- from Pannangur Mootiah in respect of a cause of his before Mr. Dent. Under the third head it was in evidence that Subrayaloo detained 35 Pags. out of the sale price of a mortgaged property to settle which Mr. Dent deputed Subrayaloo on the representation that they were kept for Mr. Dent. The fourth charge was that 40 Pags. were received for releasing one Baputtala Vencataramooddo Chitty from jail. He was confined under the pretence of his being employed by Hyder and as a spy. Sometime after he was released, it was said that Mr. Dent caused him to be set at liberty and in consideration thereof Subbarayaloo was paid 40 Pags. In the course of Cross-examination by Mr. Popham, Counsel for the Accused — after whom Popham's Broadway, Madras, is named — it was elicited that Subarayaloo kept the cash and the accounts and the Canacapillah, his partner, wrote the bill books and that Mr. Dent had no knowledge of the accounts afforesaid and that the amounts were not received with the knowledge of Mr. Dent. It was argued for the defence that those two persons took advantage of Mr. Dent's situation for their own benefit and extorted money from serval persons under various pretences but particularly under colour of settling by their influence over their master such causes or suits as might come before him in the capacity of a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace. Mr. Dent was totally unacquainted with these practices, that he was abused by his Dubashes and that no part of the money was received for his use. The address to the Jury concludes " The matter is fully before you in Evidence and you will judge of it according to Law, Justice, and your own Conscience". This address to the Jury is the first of its kind that we find in the records. The Petit Jury then retire an Officer being first sworn to Keep them. About an hour and half later they return into Court-Verdict having been first proclaimed. A verdict of Not Guilty on all counts being announced, Mr. Dent is then discharged. We are informed that Dent's Gardens in Madras are named after him.

The trial of Sheik Sulaiman at the Quarter Sessions in December, 1786 displayed some unusual features :

Sheik Solyman was indicted and tried for murder. Being put on his defence, the Prisoner acknowledged that, not having received any pay for a great length of time, he and his family were reduced to a state of misery which they could not bear up against. That he agreed with his wife it were better to die, and first to kill their daughter and then themselves; but that afterwards his wife said she could not bear to see her child die, and was afraid she would not have fortitude enough to kill herself. That he did accordingly kill his wife and was in the act of killing his daughter when he was interrupted and taken prisoner. In consideration of which, the Manner of delivering it, and the known preference Moormen give death to a state of misery, the Petit Jury brought in their Verdict 'Guilty without Malice' thinking they must find him guilty of having put his wife to death, but at the same time acquit him of any malice. The impropriety, however, of this verdict being explained to them, they retired again and after some little time brought in "Guilty but with a strong recommendation to Mercy", and "in consequence", write the Governor in Council to the Court of Directors, we were induced to respite him from execution, and to mention his situation to your Honors with a view of obtaining for him the benefit of the Royal Pardon. We however take the liberty to suggest that some punishment instead of death might be inflicted to deter others from such horrid acts; and could it with propriety be annexed as a condition of his Majesty's Pardon that Shaick Solyman should be employed on the Public works here during life or for a certain number of years, such an example would without doubt have a good effect". The man was ultimately condemned to penal servitude for life on the fortifications of Madras.

The events that led to the trial of Avadhanum Paupiah for conspiracy in 1792 before the Quarter Sessions afford us a singular instance of the dangerous extent to which the Dubashes were using their influence to procure suits and prosecutions in the Courts, Civil and Criminal, to the great detriment and annoyance of the inhabitants. The historical gleanings of Paupiah and the Hollonds find their echo in Sir Walter Scott's novel "The Surgeon's Daughter". Paupiah was Dubash to the Hollonds of whom John acted as Governor in 1789 and Edward was third in Council. The brothers were so corrupt and unpopular that almost within a year they were deported home and eventually absconded to America. Paupiah's devices for enriching the brothers and himself were curious and diversified. One Sunka Krishnama Chetti was a betel renter with the exclusive privilige of trade to a distance of 10 miles from Madras. But in practice it extended only 5 miles. If extended for 10 miles the profit would be 5,000 Pags. The Governor in Council granted the extension in spite of the objection by the Board of Revenue, the chief exponent of whose opposition was its member David Haliburton in this and other sinister acts of the Hollonds. As a consequence the prices trebled. The people revolted and destroyed the Custom houses. At Krishnama's request the Government provided a guard. Some of the people were caught and imprisoned. As they compromised with Krishnama he applied to the Town Mayor for their release but the Mayor wanted the Governor's orders. To obtain this Paupiah had to be approached. He promised to get the order if Krishnama would first foist a charge, which to the knowledge of both was false, against Haliburton that it was he who instigated the people to rise in revolt and create the disturbance. Krishnama refused. Paupiah found another tool. Ponnappa Mudali, a government renter, got a remission for there was no rain during the Year. But he insisted on the sub-renter Cholapakkam Kandappa Mudali paying him the rent in full. The latter approached Paupiah, who got him the remission. Kandappa also wanted a release of the prisoners. For the purpose Paupiah ostensibly got a petition written by one Appanaiyangar and signed by Kandappa. The petition in fact contained all the allegations against Haliburton suggested to Krishnama. One Swami of Aiyanavaram was procured to attest the story. Sworn petitions and statements exparte were made before in Governor in Council in September, 1789. The accusation was found to be insufficient. So it was soon supplemented by cleverly concocted evidence of an attempt by Haliburton to bribe the two informants Kandappa and Swami to withdraw the petition. It was further arranged that the pseudo-agent of Haliburton, one Renu Rao alias Appaji Rao, should be publicly seized with the alleged hush money of 500 Pags, in return for an immediate reward of 25 pags. and promise of an appointment as renter of a jaghir and sworn evidence of this was promptly given before the Governor in Council. Paupiah was allowed to be present at the Council lest the witnesses should go back on what they had to testify to. Persuasion and force had the desired effect. Haliburton was called upon to answer. He denied the charges as false and fabricated with a view to deprive him of his office. This was of no avail. The Governor observed that he was conscious of Haliburton's mischief and his brother supported his views and so a resolution was carried in Council — Casamajor dissenting — that Haliburton should be removed as Paymaster to Chandragiri, at that time only a hilly frontier fort garrisoned only by two European officers, two invalid sergeants and 68 Sepoys. Even Haliburton's request to stay in Madras for some time to settle his domestic affairs was refused and he was peremptorily ordered to take charge at Chandragiri on pain of suspension or dismissal. Therefore he was not even allowed to come to Madras. However he was later allowed to live at Arcot. General Meadows, who succeeded as Governor, permitted Haliburton to resign his appointment and return to Madras. In July, 1790 he was reinstated in the Board of Revenue. With the sanction of the Directors of the E.I. Co., a Committee at his request was appointed to inquire into the plot against Haliburton. Mr. Mitchell was President. A detailed report was drawn up. Kandappa, Swami and Appaji Rao were examined and the three confessed their share in the plot. Apparently Paupiah's influence was on the wane with the departure of the Hollonds. Haliburton was completely exonerated and a copy of the findings of the Committee was furnished to him at his request. In 1792 he preferred a charge of conspiracy before a Justice of the Peace against Paupiah and his brother Ramaswamy, Appanaiyangar and Venkatachela Chetti. The case was committed to the Quarter Sessions and it came on for hearing on July 11, 12, and 13, 1792. The Bill of Indictment was presented to the Grand Jury who returned "a true Bill". The trial lasted for 27 hours. The petit Jury returned a verdict of "Guilty". It was unanimous. All the four were sentenced to imprisonment and fined and were ordered to stand in the pillory for an hour. Paupiah was sentenced to 3 years R.I. and a fine of 2000 Pagodas. The punishment at the pillory was however remitted on the recommendation of the Jury. Haliburton published a pamphlet on the Trial. Sir Walter Scott had probably read it. He was related to the Haliburtons through his father's mother. He depicts Paupiah as an artful Hindu, a master Counsellor of dark projects, an Oriental Machiavel whose premature wrinkles were the result of many an intrigue in which the existence of the poor, the happiness of the rich, the honour of men and the chastity of women has been sacrificed without scruple to attain some political or private advantage. We see Paupiah again on trial at the Quarter Sessions in 1808 — this time for perjury. But his death in January 1809 relieved him of a second prosecution. One of the main roads of Choolai, Madras, named after him, continues to bear his name till this day.

By this time the Colony had increased. With the increase of commerce and of territory causes multiplied and became more complex. The Judges — The Mayor and Aldermen at the Mayor's Court for the administration of Civil Justice and the President and Council for the administration of Criminal justice — now felt the want of experience and even of time sufficient to go through their duties. New points constantly arose which required legal as well as mercantile knowledge. Men who professed or pretended to this knowledge were therefore introduced as Attornies and gradually obtained considerable influence in Courts where the Judges pretended to no legal skill. Thus by a change of circumstances unforeseen and unprovided for the current of Justice was in great measure turned into a new channel. These inconveniences had been further augmented by Acts of Parliament which extended the Jurisdiction of the Civil and Criminal Courts to Places, Persons and Offences that were before not subject to their authority. By such extension the business had increased to a degree which rendered it utterly impracticable for any but professional Judges to execute it with due solemnity and effect ...... "Upon the whole we would submit for consideration and advice the Propriety ...... of having professional Judges for the Civil and Criminal Courts ...... and of restraining appeals to final decrees to the Supreme Court (at Calcutta) instead of permitting them to be carried to England which creates a delay as hurtful to the just suitor as it is favourable to him whose interest lies in protraction ". Such was the report made by the Government for Fort St. George to the Board of Directors by their letter dated 15th April, 1791. Moreover by the Charter of 1753 the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court extended ten miles from the Company's bounds. This led to conflict with the Moors and Country powers who were outside the Company's bounds in Triplicane, Tiruvatteeswaranpettah, etc. The jurisdiction of the Court was therefore to be extended and defined. Added to this there were various circumstances which led to a conflict between judicial decisions and acts of the Executive.

To remedy the evils and to remove the anomalies Lord Hobart, the Governor, submitted to the Company the Rough Draft of a Charter for establishing a Court of Judicature at Madras. It is a manuscript volume of 64 pages and is contained in Public Sundries 1793, Vol. 50. It suggested a Judge who should be a barrister of five year's standing and upwards. It was to be a Court of Record with Civil, Criminal, Ecclesiastical, and Admiralty Jurisdiction. The Governor in Council was to be a Court of Appeal, the Judge of the Court of Judicature being a member thereof. These suggestions brought home to the mind of the Directors a Court on the model of the Supreme Court at Calcutta with Barrister Judges. But they were averse to incur such a large expense. Therefore they hit upon the plan of establishing the Recorder's Court which was to consist of a Recorder who was to be a Barrister and the Mayor and three Aldermen. Thus they hoped to promote a happy blend of the Barrister's knowledge of the law as administered by the Courts of the King's Bench in England with the local experience of the free merchant and trader at Fort St. George. The Recorder's Court was erected on 1st November, 1798. By this new Charter the Mayor's Court only was abolished. The Corporation of the Mayor and Aldermen erected by the charter of the 8th of January, 1753 was to remain entire and to be continued. The Recorder's Court superseded the Mayor's Court and took over the cases pending in that Court. In like manner it superseded the judicial powers till then vested in the Governor in Council, whether as a Criminal Court or as exercising an appellate jurisdiction from the Mayor's Court, with a like transfer of the records of each. The Jurisdictions were similar to those of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. The limits of the Town for the purposes of the Court's jurisdiction were defined as follows: —

> The Southern limits should be the Southern Bank of the St. Thome (now the Adyar) river as far as the Road leading to the Long Tank; the limits should then be continued in a Northerly direction along the bank of the Long Tank and from thence along the bank to Nungambakkam Tank as far as the village of Chettoopett upon the banks of the Poonamally river; the limits should be continued in the same direction to the village of Kilpaukam and Peramboor, and from the latter village take an easterly direction to the Sea so as to include the whole village of Tondiarpetta.

And this, says Mr. Dodwell is illustrated by a Map bearing date November 2, 1798. These limits of the Recorder's Court were proclaimed by an order of the Governor in Council dated November 2, 1798 — the day after the opening of the Recorder's Court. At first, and for some time subsequent to its publication, the Court sat twice a week for the hearing of causes and motions, according to the practice of the Mayor's Court; and it was endeavoured to administer justice upon plain statements by parties, or their advisers, and in a course deviated as much as possible of technical form, pursuant to the advice of the Lord Chancellor upon his being consulted by the Recorder on the subject before he left England, viz., in establishing a course of proceeding under the Charter, to look neither to the one side, nor to the other side of Westminster Hall, but to keep substantial justice, and that only in view. (M. S. S. Correspondence Recorder's Court).

A great case then pending in the Court was the suit originating from the will of Iyah Pillay's father. The amount of property involved was immense. The priliminary issues for trial was (1) Whether the disposition of property by testamentary donation was consonant to Hindu Law and (2) Whether the Court will uphold the peculiar bequests of that will by which a large portion of the family property was diverted to the maintenance of a regiment of lazy brahmins and their descendants for ever. The case was set for hearing on the first day of the Term January 6, 1799. C. M. Bushby, Barrister, was retained against the will. He had received the advantages of the high and generous education of Cambridge, carried off the medal of his year of which he was the Second Wrangler and called to the Bar, Lincoln's Inn and universally sought and caressed in the highest circles of fashion and letters. His reputation reached Madras in advance. He had scarcely quitted the masoola-boat that landed him at Madras in September, 1798 when the attorneys ran to meet him with retainers. He was admitted to the Madras Bar on November 1, 1798. Bushby had a week given him. But there was such a mass of documents to be perused and the attorney who had prepared the brief had performed his task so indolently that an older and cooler practitioner would have been sadly perplexed. The whole settlement was in a bustle of expectation to hear a young lawyer who had raised such transcendent expectation in a case which was also of considerable interest from the new and singular points involved in the decision. Bushby felt this. It redoubled his diligence to master the facts as well as the legal points; sudden elucidations shot across him — he congratulated himself on vanquishing the difficulties that met him — but as he advanced new and still more embarassing ones started up — but he endeavoured to wrestle with them; he was overthrown in the struggle — and folded up his papers in despair. His apartments were in the Fort: he seems to have hung over his papers the greater part of the night preceding the day fixed for hearing the cause. At gunfire (8 A.M.) on the following morning Captain Thompson, the Town Major, called under Bushby's window on horse-back, the horse-keeper leading another horse for Bushby which Thompson had agreed to lend for the morning's ride. Bushby heard the call and told his friend out of the window that he would be ready in a few minutes. Captain Thompson waited more than twenty. The report of a pistol from Bushby's apartment startled him. He ran up and found his unhappy friend weltering in blood (Asiatic Journal, New Series, Vol. XV, Part I, pp. 173-175). The case referred to is apparently Veeraperumall Pillay, *vs.* Narriain Pillay (Notes of Cases in the Court of the Recorder and in the Supreme Court, Vol. I, pp. 78 to 127) heard in 1801. The questions at issue were (1) Whether widows had a right to adopt and (2) Whether it was good. Held they had the right to adopt under the virtual authority given to them by the will of their deceased husband and that the adoption was good.

On March 18, 1799 the ship Solemany and her cargo, which had been taken by the French under Danish colours, was taken from the captors and brought into the Madras Roads by Captain Rye, Commander of the Dublin, under orders of the Governor. He directed his agents Messrs. Abbott and Roebuck to have the cargo landed and the necessary papers transmitted to England to have her condemned in the Court of Admiralty in England. Mohamed Cossim filled a suit on the Equity Side of the Recorder's Court alleging that the ship was his under Danish colours and claimed for her the protection of the English Flag and prayed for orders to restrain the sale till the captors should give security in the sum of 40,000 pagodas to account for the sale proceeds in the event of the case being held in the Prize Court in England to have been a case of Recapture only subject to salvage — or otherwise with a view to have a sale decreed under the direction of the Court of the Recorder and the proceeds deposited (to abide the same event) in the Company's Treasury. The Captain wrote to the Governor in Council complaining that the procedure was novel in that the Municipal Court was asked to interfere. They referred the matter to the Recorder. The Court disclaimed to exercise prize jurisdiction but exercised a function ancillary to the High Court of Admiralty in England and entertained the suit. The captors declining to give the security required, the ship and the cargo were sold under its order, and the proceeds, having been secured as prayed, were in the end distributed according to the sentence of the High Court of Admiralty in its Prize jurisdiction duly certified, such sentence having adjudged it to have been a case of recapture only. Sir William Scott, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in pronouncing judgement commended what had been done by the Court of the Recorder at Madras (MSS Correspondence Recorder's Court, pp. 136 to 145. The learned Recorder quotes Barnsby *vs.* Powell — I Vesey 290).

When the Court set to work the Recorder met with much factious opposition. This he overcame by arranging (as at Old Bailey) that only one representative (instead of three) of the Aldermen should sit with him inasmuch as the Recorder, either with the Mayor or with one of the Aldermen was sufficient to constitute a Court for every purpose of the Charter. Under this arrangement the Master had a seat assigned to him on the Bench, who under the terms of the proposed appointment was "a competent lawyer and a person deserving of high trust" and whom the Recorder regarded as a useful adviser conferring with him occasionally on the points as they arose (MSS. Correspondence Recorder's Court, pp. 91 to 112). A long time did not elapse before the Recorder reported home that the scheme of the Recorder's Court with its element of Aldermen judges was unworkable and recommended that a new Act should be passed constituting a new Court from which the Commercial element should be eliminated, viz; the Aldermen — some of whom "had been shameless in endeavouring to pervert their trust to their private ends" while the rest were according to him unfitted for judicial functions by reason of their business ties and connections (The White Mutiny by Sir A. Cardew, p. 154).

The fall of the Mysore Empire, the acquisition of the Ceded Districts and the annexation of the Carnatic and Tanjore had by this time given a final shape to the Madras Presidency. This added considerably to the revenues of the Company. So the considerations of economy no longer prevailed. The opposition to the Calcutta model was not renewed. On the 26th of December, 1800 a new charter erecting the Supreme Court was granted, which being published at Madras on the 4th of September, 1801, the Court of the Recorder ceased.

Reviews

SOUTH INDIAN INFLUENCES IN THE FAR EAST. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, pp. 139. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, (1949).

This book attempts to estimate the role of South India in the development of culture, art and social life in the regions of South East Asia and the Far East, in early times. It is admitted that there was also a counter-current of Indonesian influences on early Indian life in some of its aspects. In Indo-China Indian penetration was largely pacific; while in Burma the strands of South Indian and other Indian influences remained interwoven and difficult to unravel. In the art of Funan there are discernible definite South Indian *motifs*. In Kambuja the script of the lithic records is definitely South Indian, and in one of them there is a distinct reference to Sri Parvata of the Deccan. The ancient Chams are held to have followed the Bhagavati cult. Coedes's identification of Kedah with the Kadāram of Chola records is held to be conclusive.

Among evidences of close and continuous culture-contact between the Malay Peninsula and the Coromandel coast the parallels between the Labbais on the Indian shore of the Gulf of Manaar and the Muhammadan Malays are stressed with perhaps an overvalued significance.

The Tamil inscription of Luba Tua and the Dravidian tribal names of the Bataks, the question of the identity of P'o-li with Bali, the culture type of the Balinese village and the age and method of Hindu colonisation of the *Dvīpāntaras* — these and other questions are noticed. It is held, and probably rightly, that it was unlikely that Brahman priests went out in numbers to these regions, where, at the best, the court and the nobles alone would have been affected by the Hindu culture contacts, which could not have spread to the country folk. It may be doubted also if the contacts between pre-Hindu Japanese institutions and South Indian ideas were really as close as has been made out by many writers whose views have been discussed in this book in a scholarly manner. But then the evaluation of South Indian contributions, according to the meaning of the title of the book, in their separate capacity and reaction, is not easy of perfect performance, as is clear from the treatment.

—C. S. S.

ANGLO-ASSAMESE RELATIONS (1771-1826) by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., published by The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies (Gauhati), 1949, pp. xxiii and 636.

Dr. Bhuyan is a veteran historian of Assam and has done much to bring out he hidden sources of Assamese history and cultural growth and contributions. This book embodies the fruits of his Doctorate thesis, submitted to and approved by the University of London, and bears on the political and commercial relations of Assam with the East India Company from 1771 to the close of the First Burmese War. It embodies a large mass of data now brought to light and touches several aspects of Assamese history, her administrative system, her border tribes, and the repercussions of the Company's doings in Bengal upon the Ahom State, several phases of which are now, for the first time revealed to the student. The indigenous Buranjis, the accounts of European travellers and missions, the Company's records and other categories of available source material have all been exhaustively utilised in Dr. Bhuyan's usual thorough manner.

Colonel James Mill, who was the earliest European traveller in Assam and a servant of the Ostend Company and who traded in salt, the Frenchman, Chevalier Baillie, the English trader Bogle, the envoy to Tibet, and other minor merchants and adventurers, had all made observations on the Assamese people and their land and trade. English attempts to punish the Raja of Jayantia led to Assamese measures of precaution against a possible attack by the Feringhis and to their negotiation with Bhutan. The English planned to bring the entire trade with Assam under the Company's control; and in the unplementation of their plan came the usual features of corruption and oppression. The career of Baillie, who was long intimately associated with the Assamese trade, witnessed the Moamaria rebellion, the flight of Raja Gaurinath Singha (1780-95) to Gauhati and an internal revolution in the Ahom State (1788). Both Baillie and the Assamese government had developed a mutual regard; and the latter consequently came to have same faith in the moderation, justice and helpfulness of the Company's Government; and Baillie, on his own part, looked upon Assam as "that once opulent kingdom", and earned the credit of having first revealed Assam to the East India Company.

Dr. Bhuyan clearly analyses the factors which helped to change the entire character of the relations between the Company and the Assamese Kingdom, whose internal disburbances were of a three-fold character. Of these the Moamaria uprising has been traced to its very deep and remote religious origins which are elaborately outlined and stretched to the sequel of Sakta opposition to the fabric of Ahom racial solidarity and of the growth of a schism within the Sakta camp itself. The decline of the Ahoms is further analysed; and we learn the effects of the demoralisation of their soldiery and the defectiveness of their administration.

After the usual preliminaries Welsh's expedition which has been deemed "a tentative intervention," followed. Cornwallis held that Welsh's measures towards Raja Gaurinath Singha were of a 'very strong nature'; and the sequal was a conference of the chiefs and notables of the Kingdom held at Gauhati. This act was held to indicate a desire on the part of the British to adopt conciliatory measures — partially in conformity with the Ahom practice of holding *Barmels* or grand conferences, for deciding important issues, which plan was indeed proposed to be revived on a systematic basis in 1825 after the British occupation.

After a discussion of the results of Welsh's expedition and the consequences of Shore's withdrawal of English troops from Assam and an evaluation of his general policy of non-interference which in one place is not fully fair to him, Dr. Bhuyan outlines Dr. Wade's association with, and writings on Assam, particularly his manuscript *History of King Gaurinath Singha,* his translation of two Buranjis, under the caption of *An Account of Assam* and his *Geographical Sketch of Assam* which he holds to be by far the most important of his compilations.

The later phases of the Anglo-Assamese relations by which non-intervention was ended and Burmese aggressions had to be warded off, are detailed with a wealth of accounts of the atrocities committed by the Burmese whose war-mindedness had been greatly stimulated; and the long narrative of this treatise ends with the account of the expulsion of the Burmese and the establishment of British sway which did not finally decide upon permanent annexation till 1832 and which indeed first planned to restore princely rule in Eastern Assam, retaining only its hold over the Western part.

The absorption of the Ahoms in the indigenous population of Assam and its consequences for the former have been outlined; and attention is drawn to those institutions of the Ahoms which made them good soldiers and good governors; and their immunity from Hindu caste-prejudices is held to be partially responsible for the longevity of their dominance. "To the Ahoms all subjects were equal .... love was the order of the day."

The elaborate bibliography and foot-notes deserve every commendation; and the narrative retains its interests throughout, in spite of its inordinate length and heavily laden data.

C. S. S.

FORT WILLIAM — INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, VOLUME V, 1767-69, edited by Dr. N. K. Sinha (New Delhi, National Archives of India, 1950; pp. 670, 14 Illustrations and 2 maps).

The administrative set-up of the East India Company in India during the sixties of the eighteenth century, the frequent disputes between its various organs; the corruption, nepotism and lack of public spirit displayed by the Company's servants and the unsuccessful attempts at reform made by the Court of Directors from distant London; are some of the factors brought out by a volume of correspondence to be published shortly by the National Archives of India. It is the fifth volume of a proposed series of 21 volumes entitled *Fort William — India House Correspondence*, 1748-1800, to form a part of the recently revived *Indian Records Series*. This correspondence consists of the Letters exchanged between the East India Company's representatives at Fort William in Calcutta and the Court of Directors in London and is a veritable mine of information regarding the history of the Company in India. To make this correspondence easily accessible to scholars as well as the general public, the Government of India decided in 1942 to publish the Letters *in extenso*, divided conveniently into 21 volumes edited by eminent scholars under the General Editorship of the Director of Archives. The fifth volume which is the first in the series to be published, covers the correspondence in the Public Department during 1767-69. It is edited by Dr. N. K. Sinha of Calcutta University.

The Letters give a true picture of the state of the Company's affairs at a critical time of its history. The ignorance of Indian land revenue system on the part of the English and the resultant confusion; the anxiety of the Company to extend their trade and commerce not only to every part of India but also to the neighbouring countries like Nepal and Tibet; the drain of specie and the consequent scarcity of silver leading to experiments in bimetalism and gold-currency — all these are adequately described. During

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these years Clive's infamous 'Dual System' was in operation. The Letters give an insight into its actual working and lay bare the evils to which it led and which in turn caused its collapse. These Letters excellently depict the rather unstable political conditions of the times — the indigent and irresolute Shah Alam anxious to get back to Delhi; Shuja-ud-Daulah out of grace with Shah Alam and suspected by the English and yet the only safe ally of the Company; the rising power of the Rohillas and the Sikhs; the Company's war with Haidar Ali; the ambition of the Marathas to become masters of the whole country; the intrigues of the French; the menace of Abdali. The Directors were naturally anxious to pursue a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Indian powers but, as the Letters here show, frequent departures from this policy were made by their representatives on the spot. And finally, there are occasional glimpses of the social conditions in the country.

In the Introduction, the Editor has analysed and discussed the 'contents' of the Letters. The Notes make the understanding of the Text easier and the Bibliography provides a list of further readings on the period. The volume has several illustrations and maps and an exhaustive Index.

THE RIDDLE OF THE INDIAN STATES by R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Published by the Author, Baroda. *Pages — 284* (1950).

The author whose official experience as Political Officer and Special Duty Officer for Constitutional Affairs in England and India, Baroda State, during several decades, has enabled him to get considerable insight into the legal and political aspects and implications of the relations, as they have evolved between the British Indian Government and the Indian States, has thrown light upon certain obscure phases of that relationship, which is very informative to the student. His main object is to show that there had existed "unseen and unrealised mistakes and misapprehensions" entertained both in theory and in history, on the part of the British Parliament down to 1833 and since then on the part of both Parliament and the British Indian Legislature, on the relationship between British and Indian India. The first difficulty facing any attempt to understand the problem, is to know whether and to what degree International Law or Constitutional Law should be applicable to this relationship. Our author carefully examines the relevant parts of the body of case law on the relations between European nations, and powers and governments outside Europe, which go back to the 16th century and even earlier, and have their roots in the

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extravagant claims of the western and Christian nations to heathen lands, to the sovereignty of the seas and to other privileges. Among such extravagant claims made by European nations was the implied right of the English East India Company to the occupation of the bulk of the Asian continent and the East Indies, by virtue of Queen Elizabeth's charter of 1600. The first idea of the English Company was to pursue a policy of acquiring territory for increasing their income, and as yet with little or no idea of governing such territory for the good of the people concerned.

The inhibitions against wars of aggression and conquests contained in the Acts of 1784 and 1793 were soon undone or set aside by the land-grabbing instincts of the Company whose schemes of conquest and annexation Wellesley tried to veil under the cloak of subsidiary alliances, ostensibly formed for the purposes of securing the safety of the Indian States from the then threatening French aggression and the peace and tranquillity of the country as a whole.

Mr. Ranadive shows how these subsidiary treaties should have been non-violable according to International Law and capable of improvement from time to time. Evidence was tendered before the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee of 1832 as to the then prevailing classification of States according to the Company's relationship with them, which was however very anomalous, particularly in the case of the subsidiary states. The Charter Act of 1833 provided the thin end of the wedge of introduction of British Jurisdiction into the States; while the application of the doctrine of Lapse overran naturally the limitations set upon its operation by the Home authorities who were often led into implementing the illegal and unsustainable claims made under the doctrine whenever it suited English interests.

The forced moderation of attitude that had to be adopted towards the States and the Princes and that came as a consequence of the Mutiny, soon disappeared; and we come across, even within a few years after 1858, an aggressive course of legislation for subjects of States by the British Indian Legislature and numerous and vexatious delays as to implementation of promises made to Indian Prince and potentates.

Northbrook's rejoinder to the Gaekwar justifying his appointment of a commission of inquiry into the alleged maladministration prevailing in the Baroda State in 1874, was based on the assumption of responsibility of the British Government for the good administration of the state which was held to be guaranteed by the British power. This action of the British Government is deemed by the author to be no satisfactory precedent either in International Law, or in what has been called Indian Political Law. He also examines whether the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 or the Royal Titles Act of 1876 could affect in a legal sense the rights and status of the Indian States. Lord Lytton however spoke and acted as if a change had really come about in the relative status of the Queen and the Indian Princes, though Disraeli when he introduced the Royal Titles Act in Parliament in 1876 explained that the assumption of the title did not, in any way, add to the power, sovereignty or territory of the Queen. The effect of that Act on the course and competence of Indian Legislation is examined in detail by the author, as well as the emergence of the idea of the Indian State constituting a Protectorate — which notion was largely an emanation from the Berlin Conference on Africa. In the sequel, the term Protectorate came to be loosely applied to the territories of Indian Princes. The Interpretation Act of 1889 defined India, which had hitherto meant only British India as comprehending also the territories of the States and of the Princes under the suzerainty of the Queen. In the consolidating Act of 1915, the expression Suzerainty, substituted, in 1889, for the term Alliance, was retained; the preamble of the Act of 1784 against schemes of conquest *etc.*, was dropped; and the existing definition of Indian Rulers was not made clear. The terms Suzerainty and Paramountcy, soon came to be used as synonymous with each other.

The examination of the later developments of theory and practice of this relationship after 1893 described in the book is very instructive, but is too technical to be noticed clearly in a short review like this. The position of the States envisaged as being valid according to law is made clear at every stage. Thus Mr. Ranadive has held that after the Royal Titles Act of 1876, the Indian States continued to be foreign territory for purposes of British Indian legislation and administration; and there was in theory only a league of common defence aiming at averting war and securing place. He examines in detail the stands taken by Lee-Warner. Westlake and other writers on the relations of the British power and the States and the character of the so-called Indian Political Law. All his findings are instructive, though they may not be fully sustainable in a few cases.

C. S. S.

THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF THE INDIAN STATES AND OF THEIR SUBJECTS, OR THE TRUTH ABOUT THE INDIAN STATES by R. K. Ranadive, M.A., (The Good Companions, Baroda, 1950). Pages 199 — Price Rs. 8-8-0.

The author who was Political Secretary and Special Officer for Constitutional Affairs to the Baroda Government for a number of years, intends that this book should serve as a *vade mecum* for counsel and constitutional advisers of Indian States, particularly in the prosecution of cases which are bound to arise in the new set-up and should be backed up by proper legal instruction. He points out how the British Indian Executive had consistently refused to admit that the principles of International Law could be applied to the Indian States which were deemed to be vassal states by Westlake in his *Chapters on the Principles of International Law,* as against Lee-Warner's view that the States were semi-sovereign. Of course there is foundation for the view put forward by the author that the concept of British India was so attempted to be worked out on the basis of the fiction of protection that the cessions of territory got from Indian Princes could be viewed in the light of obligations that the annexing power conferred on them. He hold the terms, sovereignty, suzerainty and protection, have been used as almost synonymous with one another, all containing the essential elements of a domineering attitude rendered easy and natural by the possession of power.

Our author tries to prove that both according to legal theory accepted up to 1947 and in view of certain principles of International Law, the Indian States alone could legislate for themselves and the the Indian Independence Act of 1947 has conferred on the two Dominions created by it, extra-territorial jurisdiction which no state can enjoy under the U.N.O. Charter and which makes accession of the States to either of the Dominions compulsory in reality. He would deny the concept of the operation of a special Indian Political or International Law. Several other curious, but informing, views put forward by him have been noticed in our review of his second work — *The Riddle of the Indian States.*

He stresses the view that the concept of suzerainty over the States came in only surreptitiously and had in consequence, at least to some extent, been difficult to define. He examines the case — law regarding the status of Indian States and the significance of the certificates issued by the India Office and by the Crown Department and points out the inconsistency apparent between these and the certificates issued by the Colonial and Foreign Offices. Another of his views is that the law passed by the Indian Legislature in 1946 excluding subjects of Indian States from the definition of foreigners was *ultra vires.* He likewise condemns that view — he calls it misapprehension — that the States had, and have, no remedy against the British Crown, or against its successor, the Government of the Indian Dominion, as well as the habit of unquestioning acquiescence in this view which has constituted a wrong against the States.

The control of the foreign affairs of the Indian States by the Indian Government, though an inherent disability, did not affect their sovereign character; and certainly they are not protectorates. It has been also noticed that the door has been left open for controversy over the power derived by the Indian Dominion as the Successor of the British Government. The author would not accept the view that the latter's giving up of suzerainty over the States could have no results at all as claimed on the ground that suzerainty is imperishable, as it were; and the words "may accede" have been interpreted as "shall (or) must accede" with reference to the States in their relation to either of the two Dominions created in 1947.

Some historical truths are brought out by the author in the course of his treatment. First, may be noted the fact that the desire for concluding binding treaties originated with the Company's Government. Next, we see that in almost all cases, the state concerned had not applied for the protection of the Company as is usually supposed. All British India was acquired, first, by cession from former sovereigns by treaty and later by forcible annexation on ground of lapse or military necessity and conquest.

The author goes so far as to maintain what may be in strict logic true, but not all all feasible in other respects, that "if there were no existing treaties there could have been no British India." He points out the defects in the Instrument of Accession devised by the Indian Dominion, because under it the acceding State had the legal right to refuse to accept the constitution which was to be framed and its continuing sovereignty would have to be recognised.

Mr. Ranadive also holds that all British interferences in the international concerns of the States had constituted "interference without power to interfere." When in 1915 the Indian Foreign Office was split up into two parts, the External Affairs Section and the Political Department, the former began to conduct its activities according to principles of International Law, but the latter began dealing with the States "on the principle of the categorical imperative," which might imply possible denial of justice to the States and did result in Lord Reading's thundering rebuke of the Nizam when the latter asked for a negotiation on an equal footing. Involved in this are the discretionary control and disposal of the rights of the Rulers and the peoples of the States, and normal judicial process was precluded by the fiat of the Governor-General or the Secretary of State.

The losses and difficulties to which the States had been subjected as a consequence have largely been a sequel of the political set-up, as can be most clearly seen in the effect of the customs administration on the finances of the States. Other aspects of the financial implications and kindred issues like criminal jurisdiction over State railways, posts, telegraphs and telephones have also been examined.

A curious and hitherto little known fact is urged on the attention of the reader by the author; it relates to the dictum that was laid down more than a century ago in a suit to the effect that it is a matter of internal administration for the State and not for any outside authority to decide whether a property belongs to the State or is the personal property of the ruler; and the personal property of the ruler remains so for one succession. Various terms and slogans have been analysed and explained with their meaning, perspective and implication. For one thing, mergers are held to be fundamentally illegal. The legality of acts done by the States Ministry has been discussed and the general plea is urged that British India had no right to interfere in the internal concerns of the States and no right to take their territory or their revenues, and mergers and unions of States are contrary to *principles of democracy*.

—C. S. S.

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—T. K. JOSEPH

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